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THE SURVEY

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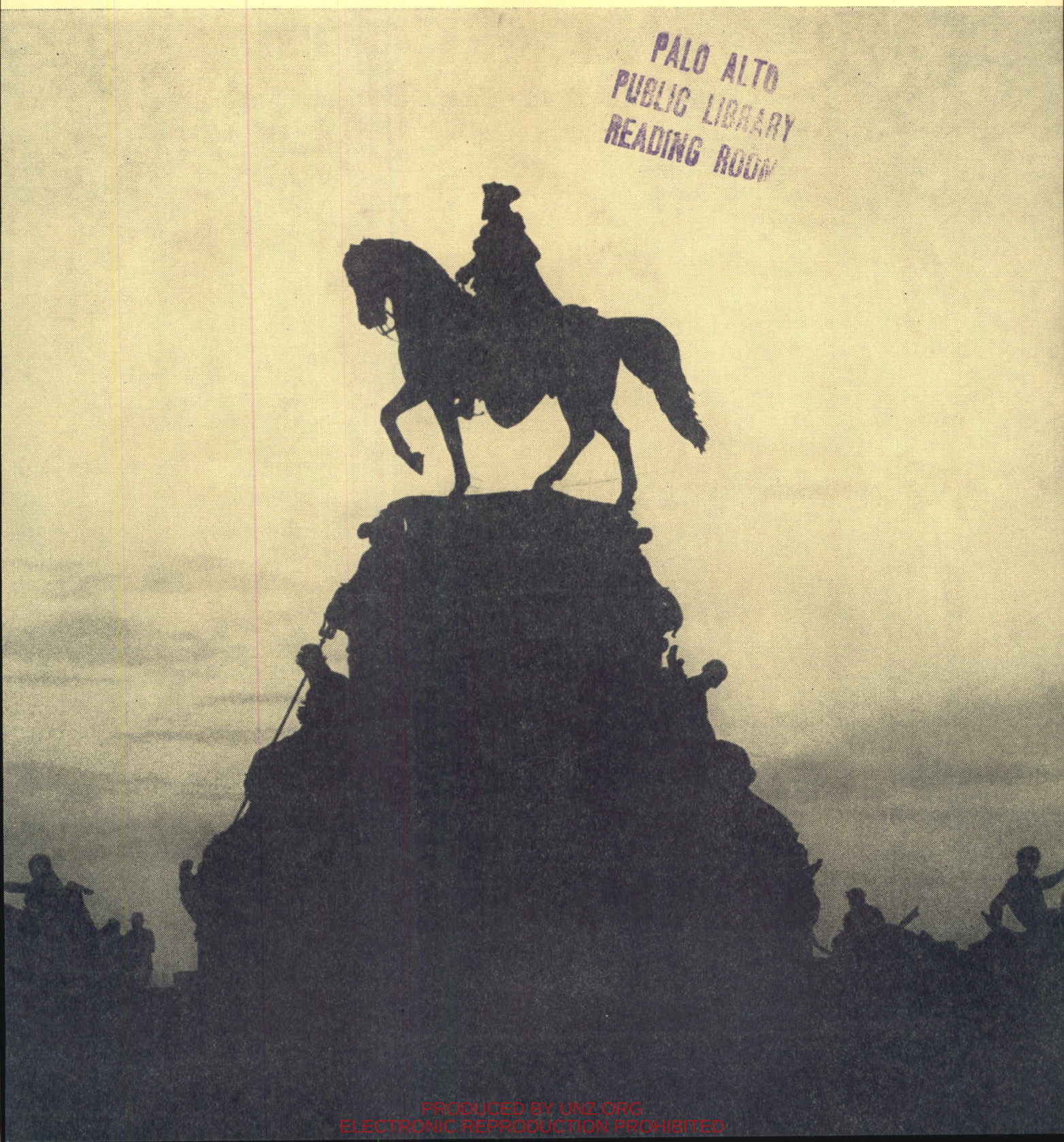

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Career girl, 1965

Little Miss Telephone herself. Thirty-five members of her family have worked for the telephone company.

That's Karen Terry — She's just three and cute as a button. Already she's decided to be a telephone operator when she grows up.

There are many reasons for her choice. For Karen is related to an interesting telephone family in California. Thirty-five members of this family have worked for the telephone company in the past sixty-five years. Many still do.

Lots to Talk About — When Karen's Aunt Ella was asked what the dinner conversation is like when they get together, she said — "Why we talk shop, of course. All about the telephone company and our friends there."

It's that way with thousands of other families. One Bell Telephone Company found that 2000, or ten per cent, of its employees had members of their families in telephone work.

Stepping Ahead — A young man doesn't follow his Dad in a job unless Dad says, "Come along, son — you'll find it as good a place as I did." You won't find sister following sister, and brother following brother into telephone work without reason. They like the work and the company.

Good people in good jobs help to give this country the best telephone service in the world at low cost.

BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM

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Survey Readers Write

To the Editor: The December issue of *The Survey* has just reached me, and your editorial note, "Good Will Among Men," prompts me to send you the enclosed poem on the same theme which is being published here as my own Christmas message to my fellow citizens.

So much has happened since I had the privilege of sitting in with you and your colleagues at your staff consultation, and made friendships it is still a great happiness to recall. The thread of my own activities, as with many of us here, was broken by the war, when my fellow citizens called me to the Lord Mayoralty, and so bound me down to the absorbing task of trying to mitigate—so far as civic organization could do anything about it—the plight of human life in a constantly bombed city; a task which would have been intolerable but for the splendour of the spirit of mutual aid with which everybody faced up to it. —Fred Henderson
Norwich, England

The poem referred to expresses hopes which *The Survey* deeply shares. Its concluding stanza reads:

Come, Thou before whose face these hates must cease.
Lord of the gentler heart, and nobler brain,
Wipe from our brows this livid mark of Cain
Smeared with our brother's blood. Come, Christ, with peace!
From the brute body we implore release,
Full stature and true shape of men to gain
At Thy magician touch; men strong and sane
To understand and cherish and increase
The Christ in man—the living will to climb
Out of these hates and fears that kill the soul;
To shape the world for friendship, and inspire
The human spirit for its tasks sublime
In nobler fields of action where the goal
Is life grown Christ-like, tuned to the heart's desire.

To the Editor: We are urgently seeking professional books, pamphlets, and periodicals to augment our library, particularly "out of print" material. If *Survey* readers have such material and are willing to send it as a gift, we shall be most appreciative—just pack it in a sturdy box and ship express collect. We will sort, clean, rebind, and put to good use things that are now dust-catchers on your shelves.

If you want to sell your material, please write, telling what you have and the price.

Our needs are extensive and varied. For purposes of research and reference we need copies of all professional periodicals, books and pamphlets published prior to 1945; proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work prior to 1918; special studies of state or community welfare programs. Studies and books published more than twenty or more years ago would be warmly welcomed. —A. F. Handel
Dean, School of Social Work
Adelphi College
Garden City, New York

1883—JACOB BILLIKOPF—1950

Forty years ago, the young superintendent of the United Jewish Charities of Kansas City joined such civic leaders as Frank P. Walsh, progressive attorney, and William Volker, farseeing business man, in striking off a new pattern for community service that was to go far. This was the municipal Board of Public Welfare—and the young social worker was Jacob Billikopf.

At his death in Philadelphia December 31 at the age of 67, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* pointed out how many Missourians would remember his pioneering. "Few native-born Americans have put their hands to anything like as many good causes." Born in Wilna, his life was a "shining demonstration of how much good can come to our shores from overseas—including Russia. The splendid work he leaves behind should shame those little men who would, for partisan reasons, attempt to deny the very truth which his achievement proves."

In later life, he put his volunteer best at the elbow of Alvin Johnson in New York in pushing out such adventurous salients in the field of education as the New School for Social Research and the "University in Exile." In the *New School Bulletin* for January 15, Dr. Johnson lamented the loss of a true friend, wise counselor and faithful trustee. To quote: "Dr. Billikopf—*'Billie'* we fondly called him—was one of the first good citizens to understand the meaning of the New School as a pioneer venture in higher adult education, an ambassador from the seminars to the great lay public . . . [He was drawn by the School's] "promise of breaking down the prevailing barriers between the lay and the academic, between the classic and the modern, between Gentile and Jew, white and black. Billie, a Jew of the Jews, was a humble and brave carrier of the noble Jewish principle that all men are equally the sons of the great God that made all things. Billie was American of the Americans, with the American faith in the equality of man engraved upon his heart."

With his shift to the East came his outstanding work in the field of labor relations as impartial chairman of the Men's Clothing Industry in New York, of the Ladies Garment Industry in Philadelphia, and the Federal Regional Labor Board.

He served as president of the National Conference of Jewish Social Workers; also as president of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service.

The Quaker city became his base as director of its Federation of Jewish Charities and for such public services as trustee of Howard University, and executive director of the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants coming from Germany. Of the honors reaching him, none meant more than a citation from the University of Chicago Alumni Association for "service to community, nation, and the world."

Jacob Billikopf's participation in Survey Associates began in 1918, and since 1922 he had been a member of our Board. He collaborated in raising The Founders Fund for *Survey Graphic* in the 20's and in projecting our CALLING AMERICA series of special numbers in the 30's. Through the years we prized his rare blend of idealism and gifts of promotion which at once kindled our pages and reinforced our growth as an educational society.

Paul Kellogg

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Vol. LXXXVII
No. 2

THE SURVEY

February 1951

Cover: Washington Monument, Parkway, Philadelphia. Photograph by Edward Quigley

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Among Ourselves

FEBRUARY IS THE MONTH when the birthdays of two towering heroes of the past turn American thoughts to crises in our history, and those who led the nation through them. We carry on our cover this month a photograph by Edward Quigley of heroic Washington Monument by Rudolph Siemerling on the Parkway in Philadelphia, given to the city by the Society of the Cincinnati. It is a reminder not only of Yorktown, but of Valley Forge, of grim anxieties of our past, of the need for wise and generous leadership, and for united faith and the strength to face forward unafraid.

THE SERIES OF ARTICLES by Benton Mackaye, interrupted this month, will be resumed in the March *Survey,* with an installment entitled "Washington and the Watershed."

RECENTLY *THE SURVEY* received from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, a metal cylinder not four inches in diameter and perhaps an inch and a half thick, less than half filled with microfilm. Held to the light, this proved to be the 1949 volume of this magazine, page by page, from the front cover of the January issue to the back cover of December. University Microfilms offers this as the solution of the magazine storage problem of libraries, and for the present its subscriptions are available only to libraries and to the regular subscribers to the magazine.

NEW USO. As we go to press word has just arrived of the reactivation of the United Service Organizations and its amalgamation with the Associated Services for the Armed Forces. Under the USO name, the merged organization will establish clubs, lounges, and camp shows in areas near military installations, in a program similar to the USO program of World War II. Thus the blurred picture described in Marion Robinson's article "Creeping Mobilization," in *The Survey* for September 1950 (page 412) is apparently beginning to clear.

HIGH COMMISSIONER. While J. Donald Kingsley is busy winding up the affairs of the International Refugee Organization (see page 83) his successor as the United Nations' guardian of uprooted peoples has recently been elected by the Fifth UN Assembly. This is G. J. Van Heuvan Goedhart, member of the Netherlands delegation to the UN, who has won the office of High Commissioner of Refugees, a new post created to provide limited services to refugees and DP's.

Before World War II, Dr. Goedhart, a lawyer turned journalist, was editor in chief of the *Utrechtsch Nieuwblad* daily newspaper in Utrecht. Under the Nazi occupation he continued his journalism as editor of the underground paper *Hetparool* until he escaped to England and became Minister of Justice in the Netherlands Government in Exile. He has been a delegate to UN since 1947, recently serving as chairman of the Third Committee (Humanitarian, Social, Cultural) at the Fifth Assembly. In his new office, which he assumed January 1, he will be part of the UN Secretariat.

CORRECTIONS. *The Survey* extends apologies for two errors of omission in its special section in January on the Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth. Credit for the picture on the opening page (page 17) should have been given to Esther Bubley, photographer, and the United Automobile Workers of America, CIO. The UAW lent the Conference the photograph from which this strip of children was taken. At the Conference it appeared in blown-up form as a gigantic back-drop to the platform in the main auditorium where the general sessions were held.

The Pledge to Children, as voted by the Conference, contained one more item than appears in *The Survey* version (page 32). Inserted after a motion from the floor at the business session, the item reads: "We will provide you with all opportunities possible to develop your own faith in God."

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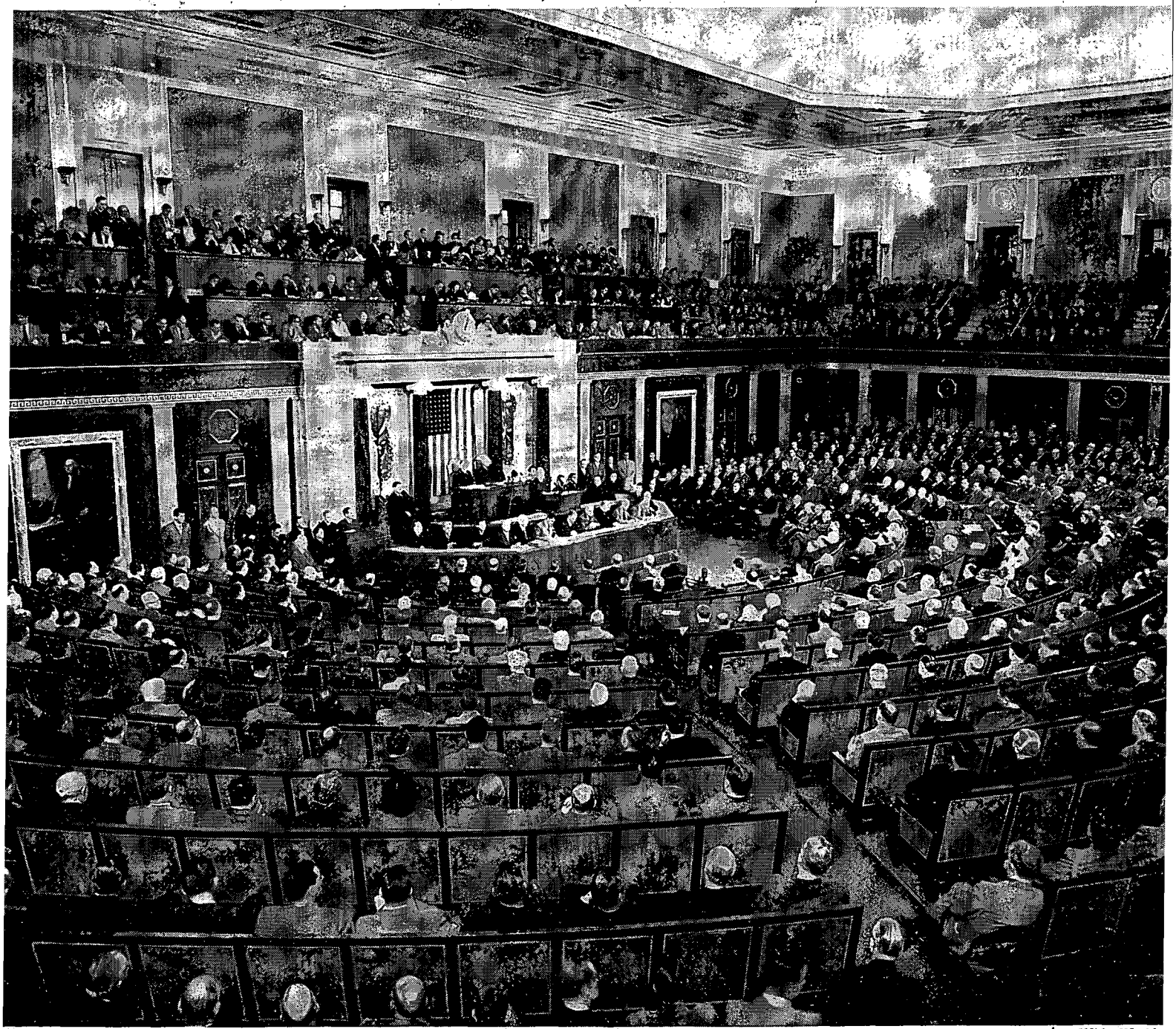

Wide World

"Here at home we have some very big jobs to do. We are building much stronger military forces. . . . And we are continuing to build a strong and growing economy, able to maintain whatever effort may be required for as long as necessary."

—President Truman, *in his report to the Congress on the state of the Union. January 8, 1951*

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Arms, Inflation, and the Citizen

The choices and responsibilities that face each American as the nation rearms.

SYLVIA STONE

WHEN PRESIDENT TRUMAN DELIVERED HIS "STATE OF the Union" message to the Congress on January 8, his references to "rigid economy" in government nonmilitary expenditures and to a further heavy increase in taxes were both applauded vigorously by the assembled legislators. Such phrases do not usually bring pleasure to legislators, nor to the folks back home. Though they have yet to be implemented, and enthusiasm may wane in the doing, they reveal something of the task that lies ahead as the USA rearms.

What rearmament will mean for our economy in the coming year is clear in certain respects. Demand will be high, with high production and employment. We shall enjoy—if that is the proper verb—an arms-supported prosperity. Not so clear is what the impact will be on the stability of the economy, what the cost to people—not the costs dollarwise—will be, and what progress we shall make toward what are, one assumes, the overriding purposes of rearmament: freedom, a better life for people in this country and elsewhere, and ultimately, peace.

The stability and the costs are large elements of the progress that we shall make or shall not make in this trilogy of goals during the years, uncertain in number, that we maintain a defense economy. We do not have to chart the course, however, for this uncertain period. Choices we make for 1951 will determine the path we take. What are the choices?

The rearmament program is now scheduled to take roughly 10 or 12 percent—about $30 billion, perhaps as high as $35 billion worth—of the nation's output in the coming year. (The Budget amounts will be much higher than these figures, but they are for the fiscal year, July 1, 1951, to June 30, 1952. The figures here refer to actual expenditures in 1951.) About 90 percent of production is left for civilians who will have considerably more than that in the way of income. Precisely how much the total purchasing power will exceed current production available for civilian consumption—and the accompanying inflationary threat—depends on these five factors: 1, how much we pay in taxes; 2, how much bank credit and other types of credit are extended; 3, how much individuals and businesses draw upon their savings or other liquid assets; 4, how much wage increases outpace productivity increases, and whether they rise faster than price increases; 5, how much our exports exceed our imports.

I shall come back to these "how muches." Therein lie our choices for national and individual policy. For the moment, let us continue with the specific character of 1951.

There is an inflationary bias in these conditions:

First, a tight labor supply, with an accompanying tendency to higher wage rates; also higher earnings through overtime work. In addition to rising production needs for labor, the armed forces will be built to 3,000,000 men, as against a previous 1,500,000. Moreover, the increased demand comes at a time when our labor force and plant capacity are in practically full use. Even before the outbreak of the Korean war, the economy was pulling out of the downtrend of 1949. The need for workers cannot be met, therefore, by absorbing the unemployed, although the labor force can be enlarged, as during World War II, by drawing in more women, and more workers from the younger and older age groups. While they contribute to production, it should be noted that their employment enhances per family earnings and spending power.

Second, in the inflationary line-up, is a tight supply of materials, meaning a tendency toward rising prices.

✦

—By an economist who is assistant to the research director of the Committee for Economic Development. Prior to that, she worked on postwar economic problems with the Columbia Broadcasting Company; earlier, her work was in international marketing, and included a year's assignment in India.

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This will draw into the market the so-called marginal production, for example, the mining that is more costly to get at; this is a gain but at a higher cost. The materials shortages will be felt most for the goods that the military use in large amount, notably metals.

Third, secondary factors pushing prices upward need noting, such as the costs of using labor not always well suited to the job; some slackness and inefficiency throughout the work force—industrial, white collar, and managerial—because of the prevailing seller's market; also production difficulties (delays in supplies, the use of substitute materials) caused by the diversion of materials to arms manufacture.

These are facts in the situation. There is one other: our attitudes toward these facts. Before taking up that very significant element—our attitudes and their consequences—let us look at what we are trying to accomplish in this setting.

I. *Stability of the economy.* Economic instability is not a defense-created problem. Stability, or the lack of stability, is *the* problem of the American economy. It had not been resolved before World War II. Our postwar record is spotty, with evidence of some improved thinking and policies, but also much that is disheartening. Our present "60-cent dollar" should remind us of some of our errors. Whether we shall have the gumption to deal with instability as it now presents itself, will be watched with great interest elsewhere in the world, and not alone in the Kremlin. The boom-bust swings of the American economy are one of the fears of other democratic nations and one of the great deterrents in developing peacetime programs, such as measures to enlarge world trade.

Stability in the present circumstances means not letting the cost-price-wage structure become so distorted that it chokes itself. To achieve as much stability in prices as possible, the over-all goal is that total current expenditures should not outstrip total current output. In the kind of conditions we deal with, stability cannot be laid on, so to speak, evenly throughout the economy. Nor is this something to be sought. Some price changes are desirable in guiding resources to products in larger demand, and to increase production. What we do not want is the general level of prices rising. If the total demand stays with our productive capacity, the dangers growing out of stringencies in particular areas should not be great.

II. The necessary arms output must be provided *at such speed* as the military think essential. This means allotting to military production for a limited period a larger part of our productive capacity than may later be needed. It introduces special requirements affecting particular parts of the economy. An example is the effort, through installment-credit rulings, to reduce demand for consumer durables—refrigerators, washing-machines, automobiles, and such—because they are heavy users of the same materials as armaments. Priorities for military production orders and allocations (rationing) of critical raw materials are tools to this same end.

III. We want to safeguard *our standard of living.* The stability that we do or do not achieve will in large part determine the effect of rearmament—at its present scale—on living standards. By what we do about stability and inflation, we are indirectly making choices as to the burden of rearmament: how much of it should be carried by whom, what costs should be deferred to future years, and to future taxpayers? The cost of defense in terms of living standards will be lessened to the extent that we enlarge our production.

In each of these three objectives, there is a qualification with what might be called "an open end." Under the first, I say, "if the total demand stays with our productive capacity . . ." Under the second, "the effort to reduce demand . . ." And under the third, "making choices as to the burden of rearmament . . ." These open-ended qualifications should be kept in mind in the following discussion of the five "how muches" named earlier.

How much we pay in taxes.

The decline in civilian demand, to make room for the military demand, can be brought about in part by making ourselves pay for the military program out of current income. That means balancing the budget, which is more easily said than done. It is not because $35 billion for military production in 1951 is an extraordinary burden for the nation as a whole. But we are concerned that what is asked of groups and individuals should be equitable, and we do not want to undermine productive soundness. The federal tax bill for 1951, moreover, will carry probably $25 billion, perhaps more, for nonmilitary expenditures.

Productive soundness requires attention to the amount of income that is put into plant and equipment. It requires also that taxation should not make such severe or inequitable inroads on the returns to individuals—whether in wages or profits—as to damp down incentive to produce more.

There is rather general agreement that with a defense program of the size now projected, we should "pay as we go," and that this means higher income taxes, corporation taxes, and excise taxes. Congress has already made two moves in this direction, the tax rise enacted in September and the additional corporation taxes passed in the special session in December. The debate with respect to further revenue will be as much about the kind of tax levy as where to get it. The concern of thoughtful persons is that the taxes should bear down on the dangerous inflationary pressure and that they should not be adverse to productivity—objectives that are not wholly compatible since more income usually helps get more output, yet more income may mean too much demand, a too easy market tending to ignore costs and prices. The excess-profits tax was strongly opposed (though an equally stiff rise in the regular corporation tax was not opposed) because, among other bad features, it encourages a lax attitude in business expenditures. The spending comes out of Uncle Sam's pocket (at least in the first instance). In passing the excess-profits tax, it is generally acknowledged that Congress was influenced by the popular belief that this is a more equitable tax when a large arms program is being financed.

In further taxing individuals, there is also reason to give close attention to the kind of taxing as well as the amount. Is it better to rely on general excises than on lowering the income tax exemptions? Are excise taxes at the retail level, visible to the consumer, better in

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restraining buying than excises at the manufacturers' level? If excises are used, a person can choose whether he wants to spend and be taxed, or to save and not be taxed—and increased saving is also a present objective. How high an excise will deter buying? The issues here are not so difficult for the layman to grasp (which is not so true with respect to corporate taxes). The thing to do is to see clearly what needs to be accomplished and to measure the arguments for and against various proposals by these objectives.

How much bank credit and other credit is available.

The decline in individual spending achieved by taxation must not be circumvented by demand based on credit. Hence, the need for restrictions on consumer credit, enacted by the Federal Reserve Board in September and October. Here the choice was not left to us as individuals, but was imposed, so to speak, by the monetary authorities (whose statutory responsibility includes the regulation of the money supply). The restrictions curb buying but they achieve a second purpose through being directed particularly to the kinds of products that compete with arms output.

Similarly, bank credit to business must be checked, also a responsibility of the Federal Reserve Board and of bankers. A lid cannot be clamped down on this kind of credit; new equipment and some new plants are important in increasing output. But the recent volume of business borrowing has moved to record heights, and not all of it is equally essential. If more of the money for new plants and equipment came out of current savings by individuals and businesses, stability in the economy as well as growth in production would be served.

How much individuals draw upon their savings or other liquid assets.

Individual volition reenters in full force here. The anti-inflationary results sought via taxation and a balanced budget, as well as through credit curbs, can be negated if many individuals decide to maintain or enlarge their spending by using their savings, or by liquidating other assets. The fact that $1½ billion of federal savings bonds mature in 1951 in itself indicates the size of possible added spending and inflationary impetus. The record of June-September 1950 illustrated sharply how much power we as individuals have over the course of events. The price spurt of those months was almost entirely due to civilian buying.

Edwin Marcus in The New York Times, January 1951

ANOTHER SUBVERSIVE NEEDS WATCHING

A considerable contribution can be made to stability, and thus to each person's well-being, by increasing rather than diminishing savings in any form, and in particular by the purchase of savings bonds. Such purchases would enable the government to refinance maturing bonds without borrowing from the banks—a procedure which involves an undesired enlargement of the banks' credit capacity.

There has been a lot of talk about the reduced purchasing power of the savings bonds bought during World War II. With inflation again threatening, some have said it is not worth buying bonds. This lets the tail wag the dog. The American people already hold billions of dollars worth of bonds, bank deposits, insurance policies, and social security rights, all of which are exposed to the risk of inflation. To protect the value of these savings, we must not again suffer inflation. Not only is the buying of bonds anti-inflationary; the bond is well adapted to the need of many savers for security of capital, liquidity, and a good interest rate.

How much wage increases outpace productivity increases, and whether they rise faster than price increases.

In the months since the Korean attack, wage increases have spread, but prices also have risen. Both the wholesale price index and the consumers' cost-of-living index recently reached new highs. With this leapfrog pattern, wage rises may be fictional, though some groups may

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Arms, Inflation and the Citizen

be able to keep pace or to gain at the cost of other workers. Farm prices and income also have moved ahead, and though pretty well paced by industrial price rises, at last report the farmer had the edge.

Overtime earnings in many industries are in any event increasing weekly wages. Longer hours of work mean more production, which we need. But with the premium paid for overtime, income may grow faster than output. Further, as wives and others in families enter the work force, the purchasing power per family goes up.

These are the factors on the income-spending side. What about pushing up output, as a way to keep the demand-production equation in balance?

The value of total production and services—the Gross National Product—was at the annual rate of $285 billion in the third quarter of 1950. An estimate of $300 billion in 1951 (using the average price level of the 1950 third quarter) seems reasonable. This would represent a high increase—much more than the normal gain due to productivity and population growth. It is considered probable because of the rise in working hours and the enlarged labor force. Over the next several years, with a considerable introduction of new equipment and improved work methods, it has been stated that an extraordinary rise in output can be had. Nevertheless, an advance of $15 billion in the present year will depend on real attention to efficiency and full application of effort all along the line.

Another healthy way to increase the goods available for civilian consumption would be through greater imports. How much our exports exceed our imports is one factor determining how much the total purchasing power (in the USA) exceeds the goods available to civilians, and therefore the inflationary push from this source. Although the export surplus in 1950 was the lowest in the five years since the end of the war, it was still running at an annual rate of about $3 billion before the Korean attack. Thereafter it dropped sharply, but how much of this gain in sales to us foreign countries can maintain is still problematical.

AT THIS POINT, I WOULD LIKE TO GO BACK TO MY REMARK about the significance of attitudes by individuals and the groups of which they are a part.

Obviously, the military requirements in 1951 are not going to mean physical hardships. An even larger program could be encompassed without touching the well-being of the nation as a whole. Yet it is evident that this military program which is not a very large chunk of our productive capacity is a dangerous element insofar as it releases our inhibitions against spending.

Bear in mind that there will be civilian goods in the shops, and money in pockets. If each of us says, "Well, the stuff is there for someone to buy, and it might as well be me—or I," it is quite safe to guarantee that we shall make very real trouble for ourselves. I am not suggesting that some of us should choose to go without so that someone else may have. We are not seeking volunteers for hardship, or rationing scarcity. Ninety percent of peak production is not a definition of scarcity. What we cannot all do is decide to satisfy all our accumulated desires now—our usual judgment as to the value of having more goods versus the value of retaining our funds being dulled by the prospect that incomes will be assured while the emergency lasts; the possibility that goods will not be assured; the possibility that prices may go higher; the gratifications that high living offers when other tensions cannot be dispelled.

A reminder is in order that American homes are today well stocked. We have had five years of record civilian production. Nevertheless, though the panic buying of a few items, notoriously short in World War II, has subsided, a high level of consumer demand has continued since the start of the Korean war. Patently, there are always real replacement needs, and there are those families whose incomes are only now enabling them to bring their living standard to what we consider a decent minimum. Such demand can be met if the rest of us do not simultaneously decide on replacement in advance of normal need, or on acquiring more of goods we already hold.

"YEAH, THERE'S BEEN A STRANGE RINGING IN MY EARS, LATELY, TOO."

Though the enormous flow of production in the last six months of 1950 was largely consumer goods (total retail inventories reported on October 31 were higher than in June), prices have risen with the demand pressure. With the price rises has come a cry for controls. As this is being written, it looks as though we shall try them. It would be nice if one could believe that they will resolve matters. But demand is creating the price rises, and demand cannot be stopped by price controls. Insofar as it makes incomes adequate for more goods, price control can, in fact, bolster demand. It is possible, of course, to do something about demand by rationing, and this will have to be done if real shortages of necessities develop.

What the outcome of resorting to controls may be

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cannot be forecast; the conditions are not comparable to World War II, though our experience then is instructive. If buying slackens because prices are not expected to rise, and it is recognized that the "shortages" are only relative to a record-breaking demand, the situation may ease. If demand continues to be excessive, experiences of the recent war years are likely to be repeated. Some goods will go into gray and black markets, and to customers willing to pay under the counter, and prices will rise through quality deterioration.

In other words, the results still depend on what we as individuals do. The costly machinery of controls may help by making us less apt to try to jump the gun on our competitor or neighbor, and perhaps we shall have less action justified by saying that "someone else started it" —the cost rise, the price rise, the demand rise. But controls will still leave us vulnerable to individual action.

WHAT IS IT, MOREOVER, WE ARE ASKED TO DO TO DEFEAT inflation? *Save our income.* Surely, this is no hardship. Unless we discount the future heavily, we can enjoy our income then as much as now. *Work harder.* These comparative adjectives can be misleading. Only few persons in the USA today work really hard; we have more hours of leisure than of work. We are simply being asked to apply ourselves more. It should be a welcome assignment for many of us who cannot contribute directly to the political or military efforts for peace. Here is something we can do: work. The productivity and efficiency of each of us will add, or fail to add, to the increased output we need, and will be a factor in costs and ultimate prices. In World War II, we saw how greatly output can be stepped up, if we are so minded. It warrants comment, too, that for many persons more work is not purely a contribution to the cause; they get paid for it.

We are also each asked to *pay our share* of the cost of security—and Congress is diligent in its efforts to make the sharing fair. In this connection, I think the intensification of groupism needs mention. Where gains are to be had, each group rushes forth with "Me too, if not me first." When there are costs to be accepted, there is an undue readiness to say "Me last."

In discussing the inflationary spending bulge, you may have wondered that governmental nonmilitary expenditures were not mentioned. I have saved it; it fits here. Certainly, federal non-defense expenditures and spending by state and local governments should be reduced. It appears that governments do not go far in this direction while groups of voters continue to press their particular demands. Those responsible for leadership of groups can temper this by making the facts better known, if they are so inclined. I don't know how far any leader will or can go unless more individuals are willing to ask whether their particular group is right in demands it is making. We hear frequent mention of the need for better leadership; I think we would profit considerably by more critical followership these days.

If we have the good sense and the courage to deal with the inflationary danger, I do not believe the projected defense program will mean serious economic costs to any group. When I measure the cost, in the USA at least, against what we already have and what we seek to achieve, it seems to me not at all in the category of serious costs, even though I anticipate that, along with others in the middle income group, I shall be well plucked before the score is in. But peace and world economic progress would be rather enormous gains for each of us, did we gain them.

There is no question that the Communist world observes what we do with our colossal productive system with a special interest. It is not only the hub around which our war strength revolves; it is the instrumentality with which we had, even in the troubled years since the second World War, made important headway in the arduous sound work of economic rebuilding and development, here and elsewhere, that was to be our great contribution to peace. The threat of the coming months may not be the shooting war. It may be how badly we strain and damage our economy. Our price structure and our stability are a considerable element in the economic health of the free world.

ONE MORE FACT ABOUT 1951 SHOULD BE NOTED, LEST THE next few months seem to belie the urgency of the dangers expressed here. The full impact of military spending will not be apparent in the economy for some months. On many military items, designing and tooling-up take a number of months. Payments for orders now placed will begin to flow through the economy heavily in the second half of the year. In the intervening months, there might be a lessening of buying pressure, particularly as the regulations on credit begin to show effects, and as families and individuals adjust to higher taxes. An awareness that there may be this temporary lull should prevent our being deceived by it, and not dissuade us from acting in accord with the very real fact that a $35 billion arms output is on the books for 1951. It would be well to take our economic bearings from that.

At the heart of the contest upon which we have entered is a thesis, now bitterly argued, about the validity of democracy and the worth of free men. Yes, we are free. There is no one to force us to work, save, or share. But the assignment is there, and in the doing we shall each make reply in the debate.

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What College Youth Is Thinking

A teacher reports some of the hopes and attitudes being expressed in college classrooms today.

HERBERT MITGANG

MORE THAN TWO AND A HALF MILLION YOUNG PEOPLE are enrolled in college this year—a student body more important to the country in many ways than any undergraduates of the last ten years. What are the main currents of thought among these young people in a time dark with uncertainty for us all?

The most accurate answers are to be found not in doctoral dissertations or formal surveys but in the students' own words, particularly in the themes they write. Because the phrase "I think" is allowed on most assignments, probably the least inhibited paper a college student writes is the theme he drops into his English instructor's box. The samplings of student opinion submitted here are representative of such undergraduate writing at New York's City College, at Harvard, Columbia, and several other colleges in the East.

In general, the themes show today's student to be a serious person who is not unwilling to grapple with his own and the world's problems. He is often serious almost to the point of being humorless; his college magazine, for instance, carries more pleas than panaceas, more solemn lecturing than literary flights. A shaky peace has made him, more than most other groups, insecure because his learing and its application later are predicated on normal times. The collegian and co-ed as a separate class, aloof from off-campus matters, no longer exist.

The state of the world affects the younger student especially, because the draft hangs over education as it did in the early Forties. A freshman put it: "Seniors and some of the juniors will graduate, but I doubt if I'll finish. There's a lot of pressure on us all the time to join the National Guard, the ROTC, or the Army itself. The Armed Forces today have become the main advertisers—it used to be Prince Albert pipe tobacco and the cigarette companies — in the school newspapers." Another student wrote that he was a cynic "because we're only going to be on earth for another three years before we're hydrogenized, so why should I knock myself out studying too hard?"

To students who are eligible for military service, the country is now in a prewar rather than postwar period. The international emergency continually colors their themes. Asked to define the main issues confronting the world today, most students write, "War or peace?" Another issue which many consider important is: "Will America's foreign policy be intelligent enough to win world support and prevent the return of isolationism?" A popular third is how to work in a field of interest and make a go of it.

One student wrote: "Practically all major issues can be traced to our role in the world. Modern technology has invoked ghastly forces that surpass many times the ethical values man can muster for their control. 'If you want peace, prepare for war,' was the Roman slogan. It neither saved the peace nor did it win the war against the oncoming Vandals."

Some students have ready solutions for nearly all problems. They are willing, for example, to accept world government as the immediate answer; it is a concept which kindles youthful idealism. The United Nations also is supported firmly by today's students. A freshman wrote on his term theme that the school pledge for children should be revised thus: "I pledge allegiance to one world, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." In at least one respect, college students are bolder than adults, for they are not afraid to join organizations or sign petitions for things they believe in.

NEXT TO THE CURRENT CRISIS AND A FEAR THAT FOREIGN policy still might become isolationist, students are greatly bothered by their chances of getting a "good job" after graduation. There exists a widespread fear that today's students will "finish up" when their college training does not amount to much. "An individual must be an opportunist, not a student, an economic weathervane, not a bookworm," wrote a sophomore. "I must be able to predict now what field will be open to me in a couple of years. Who knows? That makes me pick a profession where I think I can make a living rather than one where my interest lies."

The themes indicate, in this respect, a new attitude among some students regarding financial success after graduation. There seems to be a feeling, expressed in different forms, that "making a lot of money fast" is not the immediate goal as supposedly it was for graduates of the decade of the Thirties. "Finincial gain standing alone can block the really pleasurable activities in life," wrote a senior. Putting it another way, some students say they would actually avoid the "money collecting habit" that spurred their fathers through school. The *Wall Street Journal* advertisements which are addressed to the junior executive who wants to climb to the senior

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—By a member of the staff of **The New York Times Magazine**, *who, for the past two years, has taught English and writing in the night session of the College of the City of New York.*

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executive level sometimes are sneered at; "captains of industry" and "business statesmen" are considered "corny" phrases. Students do not shun success; a fairly decent job is, in fact, their main personal concern. Yet when they stop to write about it the line often runs: "I want a job where I can have time to read a book at night and have a clear head doing so."

Both from themes and from derogatory remarks, it is clear that in the Nineteen Fifties two types of student are not around in influential numbers: the Radical and the Clown. Themes do not knock the government of the United States as once they did, and there is little—perhaps too little?—horseplay. Possibly instructors no longer recommend outside reading of books on systems other than capitalism which once were required; or it may be that some of the current hysteria broadly called McCarthyism has affected students, as it has other groups. Voltaire, who said that it was unnatural not to be radical in youth, would be puzzled by many of today's students. There is even a wave of superpatriotism added to the political-economic conservatism found in so many of these themes.

BUT ONE THING HAS NOT CHANGED, SAY ALL INSTRUCTORS. Each semester the teacher looks hopefully to the new crop, yet each term it is the same story: in a class of twenty-five, with luck five are mature enough for the advanced discussion and liberal treatment that most instructors feel necessary. This fact is one of the most troublesome to the conscientious teacher who, on the one hand, knows that education and more education is the only way to improve this world and, on the other, discovers that only a fraction respond to the broad meanings he wants them to derive from his course.

Fortunately, this generalized description has notable exceptions. There are today some types of students who can match their experience against the academic work and come out favorably. They are, of course, the veterans and the displaced persons.

The instructor appreciates that educating the veteran is a two-way street. The veteran-student often has more to give than take away from the college. The ex-serviceman's ideas and attitudes as reflected in his themes make each paper an exciting experience. The war still comes up in fact and fiction in papers handed in by veterans, but the stories themselves are changing. Where combat once was considered the peak experience, now relations with civilians, attitudes of military governments, fears of the rebirth of nazism and, in general, more considered activities are recorded. Peacefulness runs through the themes of the men who went to war. One student who served behind the lines in Greece wrote a theme not on his own hair-raising experiences but on the child-refugees. The veterans have pushed up the teaching level and forced instructors to present materal that integrates the traditional with the contemporary. They have brought wisdom to the classroom.

A second type of scholar found in many colleges today is the former displaced wanderer from Europe. Instructors lucky enough to draw one or two of these postwar immigrants are grateful. The DP's, who usually are on their way to American citizenship, have plenty to write about.

There is, for example, Mr. W., who was interned for two years in Vichy-controlled North Africa. He explained that obscure period in history with great understanding and a unique interpretation of political events. All the languages of the world seemed to blend in his theme. His images were vivid: "The origin of the young lady was as obscure as the paternity of a Hitler *jugend*," he said in one remembered sentence. Another ex-DP, discussing his own indirect style of rhetoric, made out a masterful case for the weighty European style of Thomas Mann over the starkness of America's Ernest Hemingway—all to the good for the class made up mainly of youngsters. A young woman, not a former DP but one of the flotsam of the war in Italy who somehow emigrated to the United States, turned out themes about her life in Lucania, filled with peasant brooding, witches' tales, and descriptions of slate-chalk villages perched in the foothills of the Apennines.

The current climate leaves its mark on all students, yet some types seem unchanged from year to year if not from century to century, and the topics of their themes recur. Thus, a theme I found in my box in the fall term, 1950, was a lineal descendant of a paper written in the spring semester, 1811, at University College, Oxford. The Oxford undergraduate, Percy Shelley, was expelled for circulating his theme, entitled "On the Necessity of Atheism." When another flaming freshman wrote his fall term theme on "Religion—Opiate of the People" 140 years later, the ideas paralleled Shelley's in many ways. Yet the modern student had never read the theme on atheism; he had arrived at some of the same conclusions, he said, with only a slight assist from Karl Marx.

Such are some of the student hopes and attitudes in the stimulating college classroom today. Many have one foot in the armed services and are in a hurry for their learning, groping for the realistic behind texts and lectures. Yet, they seem to feel, almost instinctively, that somehow the answers to the universal problems can be discovered only in the collective wisdom of the process we call education.

End of Education

Ellen Acton

"We shall go with you through the woods
As far as the line where the trees go dead,
And cairns divide the winds, and dread
Falls on the coward heart," they said.
"And there we shall leave you to live apart.
If you yearn to climb higher, hold your breath.
Beneath this chaos a bright stream flows;
Within this chaos a death-head shows;
Beyond the cairns no pathway goes,
And you find your way for yourself."

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Ability and Survival

Our children are our greatest national resource, yet the abilities of at least half of them are wasted in the schools. What can be done?

ALLISON DAVIS

THE UNITED STATES AT THIS MOMENT URGENTLY NEEDS, and in the future increasingly will require all the able people it can get. To meet our spiraling manpower needs both for economic development and for defense, ability must be discovered wherever it exists, and given a fair chance to develop. A large proportion of the ability of our country, however, is wasted in the schools, in the armed services, and in industry.

In our country as a whole, more than 60 out of every 100 children live in families of the lower socio-economic groups. The majority of these children are native white; millions more are from colored groups, or from white foreign-background groups.

From the time that these children begin school—and more than 70 out of every 100 of our *elementary* school children come from these lower socio-economic groups—most of their ability is misdirected, or wasted. As is true of the staff in the armed services and in industry, and of social workers, clinicians, and psychiatrists, more than 95 out of every 100 teachers are from the middle socio-economic groups. The teachers, therefore, come from a cultural way of life markedly different from that of the majority of the pupils. Our teachers do not understand the behavior and goals of the lower socio-economic group of pupils. The lower socio-economic group of pupils, on the other hand, do not understand, and therefore cannot learn, the teachers' culture.

In the public schools of America, we have, then, a great cultural divide. Teachers, like social workers and clinicians, are trying earnestly to *change the culture,* the basic ways of life, of more than half of the children in America. Yet our teachers do not understand the interests, goals, and culture of these masses of children, whom they wish to stimulate to learn a new culture.

As a group, teachers are the first to admit that they are daily concerned about this problem. Their worry is not just the result of their "imaginations." Most of them suffer real anxiety and a deep sense of failure, as a result of their honest, but ineffective efforts to help the children of the lower socio-economic levels to learn the school's culture. It is certainly a realistic cause for worry, when the average child from the lower socio-economic group in this country is retarded by two years on achievement tests, when he reaches the eighth grade. In midwestern school-population, studied by Kenneth Eells of the University of Chicago, and others, the lowest socio-economic group, when it had been in school only four years, was already 1½ grades retarded on the average.

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—By a Professor of Education at the University of Chicago, well-known for his research on the effects of culture on personality development. In this article, based on an address delivered at the recent Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, he has drawn on the findings of a study soon to be published in book form by the University of Chicago Press, under the title, "Intelligence and Cultural Differences."

OUR TEACHERS ALSO FACE THE VERY DIFFICULT TASK OF trying to help children learn an unrealistic and extremely uninteresting curriculum, Ralph W. Tyler of the University of Chicago, one of the leading authorities on the curriculum, said in an address upon the occasion of the centennial observance of the founding of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, " . . . American schools and colleges place primary emphasis on memorization of textbook content." And "the requirements of school are largely those of a verbal sort." With such a curriculum, Dr. Tyler adds, it is not possible to teach children how to think, or how to learn to solve real-life problems.

The daily effort to teach these uninteresting, memorized materials to children is an experience which would instill a sense of failure in most people. It is clear that *any* group of human beings, other than teachers, faced with the same task, would be just as anxious and "worried" as teachers.

When, in addition, the children who have to be taught these lifeless, rote-learned materials are from the lower socio-economic groups, whose habits and culture the teacher does not understand, the teaching process involves at least a 50 percent waste of the children's abilities and of the teachers' efforts.

It may be profitable, therefore, to examine the causes of these socio-economic differences within the classroom, and to consider how we may save more of the ability of 60 percent of our children—ability which is critically necessary for our economic and national future.

During the last twenty years, social anthropologists have carried out intensive studies of socio-economic groups in cities in New England, the Deep South, and the Midwest. These studies have shown that the inhabitants recognize three major socio-economic strata, or social classes, in their communities. These levels may be termed upper class, middle class, and lower class.

Each of these social status levels has a way of life, or culture, which differs in many respects from the cultural way of life of the other social classes.

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The slum child, whose own parents curse as a routine method of communication, fight, and consider the school unimportant in their futures, lives in a physical, economic, and cultural reality basically unlike that in which the middle class child is trained. Therefore, if the slum child is to be realistic, many of the habits and attitudes which he learns will inevitably differ from those of the more sheltered, intimidated, and highly supervised middle class child. That behavior which middle class teachers, clinicians, and psychiatrists often regard as "delinquent" or "hostile" or "unmotivated" in slum children is usually a perfectly realistic, adaptive, and—in slum life—socially acceptable response to reality.

This social-class, or socio-economic molding of the child's behavior begins in the very first months of life. Robert J. Havighurst, chairman of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago, and the writer have made a study of the differences between middle class methods and lower class methods of rearing children. This research discovered that, on the average, *lower class infants* are nursed more often, weaned later, allowed more time for the very difficult steps in toilet training, and, in general, have a better chance for enjoying the basic organic gratifications.

On the other hand, the middle class child is pressed by parents to learn too early and too fast .Contrary to popular belief, the middle class child is required to help with chores earlier, and to assume responsibility for other children earlier. As would be expected, he has to come in earlier in the evening, and to work longer on school lessons. Middle class children are more worried—they suck their thumbs and show other anxiety symptoms much more (3 to 1) than do lower class children. But their family's insistent pressure upon them for early and rapid attainment, and for conscientious work habits, makes middle class children work much harder in school. Thus they please the teacher much more than do the lower class children.

TO UNDERSTAND THE SOCIALIZATION OF SLUM CHILDREN, one must first view the slum adult world, and trace the motivational system which slum adults exhibit, as a group. What are the basic social drives of slum adults? To put this question more carefully, what experiences does the slum individual learn from his group to define as "pleasant," and what experiences does he learn to define as "painful" among the available experiences in his world?

One of the most basic differences in motivation between lower class and middle class people is their attitude toward eating. Owing to the greater security of their food supply, middle class people eat more regularly. They therefore have learned to eat more sparingly at any given time, because they know they are certain of their next meal. They have also developed a conscientious taboo upon "overeating"; they feel some guilt about getting fat and about what they call "raiding the icebox."

Slum people, however, have a very uncertain food supply. Their fear that they will not get enough to eat develops soon after the nursing period. Therefore, when the supply is plentiful, they eat as much as they can hold. They "pack food away" in themselves as a protection against the shortage which will develop before the next payday. They wish to get fat, for they regard fat as a protection against tuberculosis and physical weakness. Basically, the origin of this attitude toward eating is their deep fear of starvation.

Just as food-anxiety is far more urgent in lower class than it is in middle class society, so is the anxiety which is aroused by the danger of eviction from shelter, the danger of having too little sleep, the danger of being cold, and the danger of being in the dark. The middle class individual is relatively certain that he will have enough coal or light; he buys his coal by the ton or the

Black Star: Photo by Shigeta-Wright

Even the most earnest middle class teacher becomes puzzled at the ways of slum children

five tons; he burns five or ten electric lights. But the lower class person's hold upon fire for heating is on a day-to-day or week-to-week basis. He buys coal by the bushel, or by the five bushel, or by one-ton loads. Every week or so, therefore, he has to face the fear of being cold, and of having his children cold.

Similarly with light, his anxiety is far more chronic and realistic. His evenings are spent in a gray light; if more than one or two bulbs are used, and those are not of the lowest candle power, he will not be able to pay the light bill. Therefore, the fear of not having so basic a necessity as light—a fear which middle class people escape after childhood—is recurrent with the slum individual. Walk into any real slum housing at night. People are crowded together in a dingy, twilight world. Their streets and alleys likewise are full of darkness, so that their chronic expectation of assault or rape is increased.

Just as slum people have painful anxiety-ridden associations with food, then, so they have with shelter, sleep, and darkness. To this list must be added the fear of being inadequately clothed in winter. Most slum men have no overcoat in normal times. Most sharecroppers' children have no woollen clothes in winter weather.

Thus, lower class people look upon life as a recurrent series of depressions and peaks, with regard to the gratification of their basic needs. In their lives, it is all or nothing, or next-to-nothing. When they have fire, their homes are stifling hot, and everyone sits as close to the fire as possible. For they remember anxiously what it was to be cold; to be too cold to sit in the house; so cold that the whole family must go to bed to keep warm.

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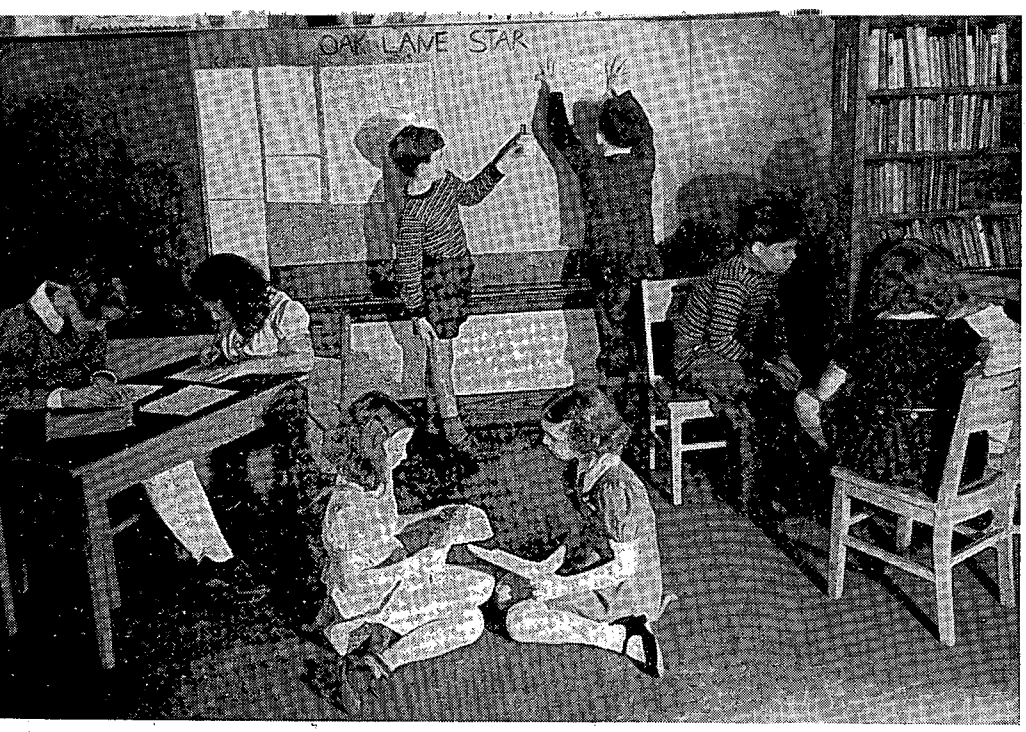

Black Star: Photo by Ellis O. Hinsey

Middle class teachers may expect quiet behavior when they leave the classroom. Sometimes they get it—

Just as their deep anxiety about starvation leads them even in good times to glut themselves, as middle class people view their eating, so does the learned fear of deprivation drive lower class people to get all they can of the other physical gratifications, "while the getting is good."

It would be more rational if they saved and budgeted their money, but human beings are not rational. They are what their culture teaches them to be. "Man is a reasoning, but not a reasonable animal." Lower class people cannot learn middle class foresight and moderation unless they can associate with middle class people, whom they may then learn to imitate. So far, the public school is our only chance to teach lower class people the middle class motivational pattern. But the schools do not yet understand how to reward lower class pupils.

One further instance of lower class children's cultural behavior is their physical aggression, or "fighting." Teachers misunderstand and resent the slum child's fighting, just as they do his cursing, his so-called precocious sexual behavior, and his dialect. In lower class families, however, the parents themselves have taught their children to fight not only children of either sex but also adults who "make trouble" for them. If the child or adolescent cannot whip a grown opponent, the mother or father will join the fight. In such lower class groups, an adolescent boy who does not try to be a good fighter will not receive the approval of the father, nor will he be acceptable to any play-group or gang. The result of these cultural sanctions is that he learns to fight and to admire fighters. The conception that aggression and hostility are neurotic or maladaptive symptoms of a chronically frustrated adolescent is an ethnocentric view of middle class psychiatrists. In lower class families, physical aggression is as much a normal, socially approved and socially inculcated type of behavior as it is in frontier communities.

The last factor in learning which I shall consider is intelligence. Using recent research, I should like to point out that socio-economic factors influence the school's *diagnosis* of a child's *intelligence*. According to the present "standard" intelligence tests, lower class children at ages six to ten have an average I.Q. which is 8 to 12 points beneath the average I.Q. of the higher socio-economic group. For children of age fourteen, the present tests define the average I.Q. of the lowest socio-economic group as being 20 to 23 points beneath that of the higher occupational groups.

In the same way, the present tests define rural children, on the average, as much less intelligent than urban children; southern white children as much less intelligent than northern white children, and so on. There is now clear, scientific evidence, however, that these tests use chiefly problems which are far more frequently met in urban middle class culture.

On the basis of these culturally biased I.Q.'s pupils are separated into so-called "fast" and "slow" groups in most systems. Moreover, school systems have attached so much importance to those culturally biased tests that they have usually provided poorer buildings and equipment, and higher teacher-loads for those schools located in the lower socio-economic neighborhoods, because the pupils there are supposed to be "inferior" in mental ability.

During the last five years, at the University of Chicago, an intensive and cooperative study of the present intelligence tests has been carried out, on a grant from the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. The study revealed that:

(1) Ten of the most widely used standard tests of intelligence are composed of an overwhelming proportion of questions on which the higher occupational groups are superior.

(2) This superiority is found, upon study, to be associated with the type of vocabulary used in these standard tests and with the greater training and motivation of the higher occupational groups with regard to these tests.

These findings resulted from cooperative research by a group of educational psychologists, experimental psychologists, social anthropologists, and specialists in human development. The analysis of these data, gathered by testing more than 5,000 pupils with a battery of tests, and by retesting under an experimentally controlled plan, was carried out by Professor Kenneth Eells and by Professor Ernest A. Haggard.

During the first three years of research, it was found that the low occupational groups and the foreign-background groups were not superior on a single one of the 460 problems in the 10 standard tests. They equaled the highest occupational groups on 21 of the 460 problems. But these were less than 5 percent of the problems.

The type of problem in present tests, which is clearly biased, may be illustrated by the following:

A symphony is to a composer as a book is to what?
( ) paper ( ) sculptor ( ) author ( ) musician ( ) man

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On this problem, 81 percent of the higher socio-economic groups marked the correct response, but only 51 percent of the lower socio-economic group did so. In an experiment, designed by Professor Ernest Haggard, we made a problem similar to that above, but we used words and situations *common to all social groups of children*. This problem was read to the pupils:

A baker goes with bread, like a carpenter goes with what?
( ) a saw ( ) a house ( ) a spoon
( ) a nail ( ) a man

On this culturally fair problem, 50 per cent of each socio-economic group gave the correct answer. Dr. Haggard also discovered that when both the top and bottom socio-economic groups were given the same amount of practice on this culturally fair type of problem, both groups improved, but the lowest socio-economic group of children improved more.

Black Star: Photo by Lilly Jos

—but when there is a cultural gulf, the absence may be seized upon as an opportunity to blow off steam

New experimental tests, using culturally fair problems, have been constructed. In these new tests, the authors are not seeking a measure of "cultural background," or of "home background," or of "work habits," or simply of school performance. We wish to measure that ability which underlies, uses and is used by these economic, social, and home factors. This essentially hereditary ability is what we call "real intelligence," "innate ability," "smartness," or "mother-wit."

One of the new tests is an individual test for children of ages six to nine, inclusive. The test's tentative standardization has been carried out by Dr. Robert D. Hess.

In view of the results obtained with the standard tests, we were ourselves not anticipating the results which have come in from the new test. On the new experimental test, the children from the *lower* socio-economic white group earned slightly higher average scores at age six than did the higher socio-economic white group, and *equaled* the performance of the upper socio-economic white group at each of the other three ages.

When one controls the socio-economic cultural factors in a test, therefore, one finds sound statistical evidence that the average real intellectual ability (or what Binet called "capacity" as contrasted to "information") is in general at the same level for all socio-economic groups. Yet, in our public schools, we find the lower socio-economic groups—whether they are native white, colored, or foreign-born—segregated into so-called "slow" groups, and given inferior equipment and curricula, and taught by overloaded teachers. What could one logically expect, as a result, except that they would have low achievement?

IT IS EASY IN YEARS OF CHILDHOOD TO CRIPPLE HUMAN ambition and ability. There is now scientific evidence that the children of families in the lower socio-economic group have a great fund of ability, and many new abilities, not recognized or developed by the schools.

If new ability is to be developed, it must be discovered and trained in the public schools. The free school in America must be the ladder of the people. Teachers may think of themselves as unimportant, as mere day-care-keepers-of-deathly-quiet-in-the-classroom, but in the most realistic sense, the survival of the United States as a major power depends directly and chiefly upon the public schools. The reasons are these:

We are faced by increasing economic competition, and by tremendous demands for defense. We shall need in the next decade a vast increase in the number of skilled, semi-skilled, and white-collar workers. We already are trying to increase our working force by 2,000,000 and that is only a beginning.

How are we going to increase the proportion of our population which has skill? Only by recruiting more children who are poor but smart. That is an urgent national requirement. It means that the schools must discover and train effectively many more of the able children from the lower socio-economic groups.

If we do not find, and train effectively, more of these children with quick minds (good native ability) in the vast lower socio-economic groups in America, we shall be very seriously challenged by the tremendous populations of Asia and Eastern Europe.

To effect this recruiting in the past, the United States has attempted to maintain a "democratic ladder," to make it possible for those who were poor, but able, to have a fair chance to rise, and to share in the advantages of our society. To the extent that the democratic ladder is open—and it has not been open for all groups—it has served to keep a "way up" open for those who learned new difficult skills, and worked hard. The "democratic ladder" is our system for recruiting ability and ambition.

The public schools have done the recruiting, and have taught some of the skills. Even so, they have overlooked and wasted about half the ability of the school population. Now we can no longer *afford* to waste this ability. In the next decade, we shall face demands for *all* the ability we have, in *all* groups. Since we are now outnumbered in the world crisis, we shall fall or stand according to the degree to which we can develop the abilities of the *whole* population.

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New Towns and Defense

How to avoid housing mistakes of World War II, and simultaneously solve some problems of production and security.

ALBERT MAYER

THE PARAMOUNT FACTOR THAT SHOULD COLOR ALL OUR thinking and action in this emergency is that it will last for an indeterminate but undoubtedly a very long time. We cannot afford to adopt the makeshifts which the ordinary emergency generally connotes. We must hammer out and apply statesmanlike policies. Jumbled action without policy-level thinking is wasteful spiritually and productively, because what we create in new industrial plant and living communities, we will work and live in for years to come. In formulating and executing any construction policy, we must make creative use of the experiences of the last two war emergencies.

Thus, for example, the temporary housing that we beguiled ourselves with can have no place now. The saving in first cost is more than eaten up trying to make such dwellings stand up after relatively short use. We learned, too, that to build industrial plants without housing as we did in the early years of the last war leads to prohibitively expensive labor turnover.

When the acutely needed housing finally appeared but without schools, stores, and other community facilities, that caused absenteeism and turnover and kept potential women workers at home.

Today, we must not lose precious time learning these same painful lessons all over again.

The current emergency also intensifies the critical problem of metropolitan concentration and congestion. Our big cities' traffic arteries are already choked. The remedies, contrived to improve conditions, only attract more traffic—and the vicious circle continues. So far, that has only caused loss of time and money, high accident rates, and nervous deterioration. Now we have the threat of bombs. The size and concentration of our kind of cities put us in mortal danger; their traffic congestion further cuts down the chance for escape or safety.

There are other basic facts: First, over the last twenty years the tendency has been for industry to decentralize, away from big cities. Even commercial enterprises such as insurance companies are following suit. During the last five years urban department stores have been locating branches in planned regional shopping centers, with multiple highway access and plenty of parking. Second, when preparations were begun for war production in the last war, there were, on the outskirts and even within large cities, vacant areas already subdivided and provided with utilities. Third, in the last war, industry soon discovered that housing, schools, and playgrounds were necessary, then realized that many sites were too small. The lack of available land increasingly bedeviled the program. Finally, civilian defense programs call for outlying evacuation hospitals, wide highways for evacuation, and millions of civilian volunteers working five to ten hours a week over a period of years. This manpower is necessary under the most favorable conditions—it does not take account of the lost time and disruption that actual bombings would add.

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—By an architect and planner, who is a consultant to the Public Housing Administration and a designer of many large scale housing projects. He is currently chairman of the American Institute of Architect's Committee on Urban Design and Development, but is here writing unofficially.

WHAT DO THESE FACTS DEMAND IN THE WAY OF A CREative policy? To begin with, we must devise and maintain the maximum civilian defense, for two thirds of the people live and work in target areas, that is, areas of sufficient size and importance to justify enemy bombing. But the facts say equally plainly that we must not add new industry, housing, hospitals to these endangered areas.

All the facts and experience point to a creative policy with these elements: To begin with, no appreciable increase in major cities either in the center or by way of sprawl. New industry and housing must be located in moderate-sized communities sufficiently distant from the city and from each other to offer no worthwhile target in war, and to provide happier living conditions in peace. In the proposed new communities we not only cut the daily time and cost of the journey to and from work, but also the amount of time required for civilian defense, and the broken time in the event of bombing. Note also the resultant increase in precious man-hours, and the lower requirements for gasoline, coal, tires, electric power, for private cars and mass transportation. Such communities are not more costly, for this time there are no vacant subdivided lands with utilities. In fact, the first cost is probably somewhat cheaper, beginning with land.

In general, these new towns would be so located with respect to each other, and usually with respect to existing cities, that both labor supply and labor opportunity would be varied and ample. They must be on human scale, wholesome places for children, made for neighborly liv-

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ing, generally within reach of the cultural urbanity of the large city.

Another point in the policy, would be that the various elements of these communities would be synchronized in their development. This means acquisition of enough land at the start. By proper planning we can avoid the lost man-hours involved in delayed housing and community facilities.

The third element is to re-orient the aims of Urban Redevelopment. Authorized under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, plans have been concentrated on demolition and rebuilding on site, usually at new densities greater than the old. But henceforth we must see to it that such demolition will result in new open spaces for peace-time amenity and, if the need comes, for fire-breaks and wide escape highways.

The effective brakes on initiating such a program are general inertia, habit, and indifference; vested civic interest, and civic patriotism. The former can surely be energized once the gains are clear. The latter is unfounded, for the proposed new communities are only replacing in a planned, crystallized way what is now amorphously happening by way of suburban sprawl beyond the city's tax grasp. The transformation of this indifference and inertia, the conversion of this opposition, constitute a great immediate task.

How do we implement such a policy? Some tools we already have for it, and these we must use. Some we should be able to forge without too much difficulty. But we need one new tool and it is of paramount importance.

By and large, national, state, and local agencies such as the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies, the Public Roads Administration, state and city Housing Authorities and Redevelopment Authorities can do their job or be molded to do it. But individually or cumulatively they cannot set high policy, they cannot put together the integrated and interrelated program that is required. Those agencies can do only a piecing of fragments, however effectively they operate.

The need is for a top agency comprehensive and decisive in its thinking, of unquestioned authority in action. It must be part of the Defense Mobilization galaxy, on a par with, and similar in function to, such bodies as the National Production Authority and the Office of Defense Manpower. It must co-think with the other top agencies, crystallize the decisions as to location and requirements, translate these into physical and social plan. Then it can assign the projects to existing or revamped agencies for detailed planning and execution.

The federal government, through its credit and special amortization powers, can determine with industry the locations of new plants. Through the Federal Housing Administration's credit insurance, it can channel private housing to proper locations. As in the past war, the Public Housing Administration can concentrate its subsidized housing in areas designated for war production—a factor of primary importance, for many war workers can afford only low rent housing. In fact, the federal government through existing agencies and financial participation can also channel roads, hospitals, community facilities. These powers and facilities must be used in close cooperation with state and local agencies, but they must be used much more boldly, imaginatively, and decisively than the federal housing agencies, for example, have shown any sign of doing. Some new federal legislation is needed, for example, to permit large land acquisition. A bill has been prepared proposedly filling this need, but its provisions are not known as this is written.

New state enactments will be required to adapt the urban redevelopment legislation which though in many cases it contemplates using deteriorated vacant land as well as built up land, generally does not provide for any mechanism other than cities as authorized agencies. Either cities must be empowered to develop communities beyond their limits, or another agency must be set up for this purpose. As most states have 1951 legislative sessions, there is no time to lose in formulating policy and legislation.

Such a program as is outlined here is the only one that meets the multiple requirements of our time. It has been tested and applied in England and, in part, in Holland and Sweden, as well. There is a good deal of support for it here; however, it is bound to encounter not only public apathy and active opposition but also all kinds of local situations, including overlapping jurisdictions. The effort must be not only to increase general enthusism and support, to get legislation drawn and passed, but also to get some pilot projects quickly under way. These will enable us to come to grips with the empirical difficulties, to meet legitimate local objections and problems, to learn how to synchronize operations. Such a pilot would be to solve the dispersal problems of Washington, D. C., and whatever is done there will have great dramatic value over the country.

The present government proposal — which seems to create fully as many problems as it solves — is to locate office buildings for some 40,000 more workers in outlying sections, and have these workers continue to live in the city and commute outward from there.

It is not a question of "using" today's emergency to meet other needs however urgent! It is extraordinary and significant that all the relevant circumstances this time seem to coincide: maximum cost economy, working efficiency, attainable speed of accomplishment, quality of living, security from attack. Here is indeed a tide in the affairs of men which must be taken at the flood.

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Lobbyists at Work

Behind-the-scenes activities of pressure groups and their paid spokesmen in Washington, as revealed in the hearings and report of a congressional committee.

HILLIER KRIEGHBAUM

LOBBYING, ACCORDING TO THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE on Lobbying Activities, has quietly developed into both a big business and a fine art.

After more than a year's work, the committee has provided a basis for action by the 82nd Congress, now in session. If democracy as we know it is to survive, then the public has a right to know who is seeking what favors in the halls of Congress. When the legislators can take time out from defense preparations, it is to be hoped they will consider these recommendations with thought and care.

Progress in influencing legislation would make the successful lobbyist of the 1880's and 1890's turn green with envy. Millions of dollars are spent and pressure, where possible, is applied from the grass roots as well as in Washington. So effective have been pamphleteering and advertising in creating public opinion which then can be directed toward Congress that Representative Frank Buchanan, Pennsylvania Democrat and Select Committee chairman, conceded that about the best change that could be hoped for now is identification of pressure groups and the sources of their support.

The Select Committe inquired for much of 1950 into prevailing practices and some abuses of present-day efforts to influence Congress. Attention was paid to the executive departments in government as well as pressure groups for business, labor, and other segments of population. Members explored general techniques and then studied in detail organizations ranging from the conservative Committee for Constitutional Government, which grew out of the successful fight to block President Franklin Roosevelt's court bill in 1938, through the labor-supported Public Affairs Institute and the New Deal-ish Americans for Democratic Action, to the left-wing Civil Rights Congress, listed by the United States Attorney General as a Communist-front organization.

Committee members had trouble in disassociating the word "lobbying" from the popular suspicions that frequently accompany it. However, from the committee's viewpoint, lobbying is a perfectly natural—and sometimes vitally essential—part of democratic government. Members as well as witnesses pointed out that the First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees to all citizens the right to petition Congress. Some aspects of influencing legislation resemble petitioning and any regulations should safeguard this constitutional guarantee. This complicates the drafting of rules and regulations which would protect this right and yet make the public aware of synthetic pressures now being applied behind the scenes.

Trying to answer this, the committee's final majority report, filed in January, proposed that the word "lobbying" be removed from the legislation now governing such activities, because of its evil connotations. Further, the report recommended that Congress keep a constant watch over lobbying; that the "little fellows" or persons using less than $1,000 a year to influence legislation be exempted from reporting; that such reports as are required be simplified; and that radio and television be exempted as are newspapers and other periodicals now.

WHEN IT BEGAN HEARINGS EARLY IN 1950, THE SELECT Committee, undertaking the fourth lobby inquiry in forty years, had a starting-off place. In passing the Legislative Reorganization (La Follette-Monroney) Act of 1946, Congress included the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act as a third part. This provided for registration of lobbyists and the filing of financial statements on contributions and expenditures.

Under two provisions of this act, more than $75,000,000 was reported as contributions for efforts to influence Congress during the three and a half years between July, 1946, and the end of 1950. That undoubtedly "large and impressive sum," however, did not include many items which some felt would have swelled the total to a more realistic figure. Costs of publications, public relations expenditures, and advertising funds frequently were omitted although they were part of a campaign to present one side of a public issue. Numerous organizations have claimed they were exempt from reporting because a peculiar wording in the lobbying act said such work has to be a "principal" activity. No check is possible on expenditures by state and local branches of a national organization.

Yet Democratic committee members signed a report which speculated:

"If the full truth were ever known, this committee has little doubt that lobbying, in all its ramifications, would prove to be a billion-dollar industry. This figure is not offered in an effort to shock the complacent but as a sober estimate. Consider the costs of letter and telegram campaigns; the thousands of pages of institutional advertising; the purchase and distribution of millions of highly charged books and pamphlets on public issues; the salaries of executives, lawyers, and publicists; the operating budgets of all the thousands of organizations

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—By a former member of the Washington staff of the United Press, who is now Associate Professor of Journalism at New York University.

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throughout the nation whose central purpose is to influence what government does—all of these costs and many more are chargeable to lobbying, whether we like the word or not."

The Republican minority on the House Select Committee did not sign this report, possibly because of this paragraph and others in similar vein. However, virtually every item of testimony demonstrated that lobbying has expanded into a big business.

Also incomplete are the report figures on registered lobbyists. During January, 1950, the number signing up under the registration provisions passed the 2,000 mark. This is deceptive on three counts: no provisions were made for de-registration when the Act was passed, so some listed individuals are now working in other fields; individuals mobilizing sentiment throughout the country for or against a proposed bill are exempt—only the Washington representatives need be reported; the many special pleaders before any of the dozens of federal administrative agencies are excluded unless they function on Capitol Hill. Thus, the American Medical Association, which led all other registered groups during 1949 with a reported lobbying expenditure of $1,522,683, listed only seven lobbyists. The Congress of Industrial Organizations registered four.

As shown by the admittedly blurred picture, big business outspent all other special interests. During 1949, there were 35 groups reporting they spent more than $50,000 apiece for lobbying. Of these, 22 are purely business or trade groups and two others received most of their funds from corporate or business sources. The *laissez faire* approach to lobbying gave business men a tremendous advantage on Capitol Hill.

The committe's majority reported:

"We believe lobbying to be every man's right. But some men are more able to make their rights meaningful than others. In practical terms, this has meant that those interests with the most to spend for protection have proclaimed, 'Lobbying for all men' as an almost sacred article of faith. It is not unlike the elephant shouting, 'Everybody for himself,' as he stomps up and down among the chickens."

THE COMMITTEE CHECKED SOME ORGANIZATIONS THAT cannot be classified as representing organized business. Yet in almost all instances, a relatively small number contributed the bulk of the funds. For example, Dewey Anderson, executive director of the Public Affairs Institute, testified that the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen provided $75,396 or slightly more than half the money for the group during 1949. The left-wing Civil Rights Congress raised two thirds of its reported funds from contributors who gave $500 or more. This group has not filed figures for all the quarters since registration of lobbyists became mandatory.

George B. Galloway of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress told the committee members that all Americans have an interest in congressional legislation affecting them as consumers but "there is no organized consumers lobby in Washington."

"The great majority of the American people," he continued, "are not members of special interest groups and hence are much less articulate on particular issues than are the interested minority whose affiliation with some active organizations gives them a greater political leverage. The result is that the strongest pressures from outside are essentially minority pressures representing particular local interests or specific occupational or political groups."

OF ALL THE TECHNIQUES USED TO INFLUENCE LEGISLATION, the old-fashioned lobbyist was most likely to buttonhole congressmen or covertly contact the political "bosses." Today, the high-pressure representative not only approaches congressmen and senators directly, but he also appears at public hearings, encourages letter writing to influence congressmen, and performs certain "service functions" for legislators. To all this, he has added the relatively new technique of applying pressure from the grass roots.

Direct appeal to legislators remains a common denominator of pressure tactics. Visitors from a member's home district not infrequently seek out a congressman at his office, on the floor, or in corridors or cloakrooms. New variants have been added, too.

Although William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, vigorously insisted that his organization does not lobby, only petitions, Representative Clarence J. Brown, Ohio Republican, cited the "mass migrations which descended on Washington" on special trains arranged by the Congress. These groups sought to influence such legislation as the Fair Employment Practices Commission bill, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley act, the Mundt-Nixon anti-subversive bill, and various proposals against segregation.

Congressional mail is one substitute for personal visits and many members assay their constituents' opinions through careful study of their daily correspondence. Lobbyists exploit this practice through pressures applied from far beyond Washington. Some also use more urgent telegraph messages and telephone calls.

The National Association of Real Estate Boards, the committee was told, systematized the contacts between its members and congressmen during its campaign on housing legislation. Not only did the association supply its members with lists of all the key committeemen but it sought as home town influences those community leaders to whom members of Congress would be sure to listen. [See "Housing: a 1950 Tragedy," by Lee F. Johnson, December *Survey*.]

For instance, James J. Spatz, executive secretary of the Dayton (Ohio) Real Estate Board, named four men in his city who might carry weight with Senator Robert A. Taft, sponsor of a public housing bill. One man was described in a letter to the Realtors' Washington Committee, a central clearinghouse in the campaign, as "former state senator, prominent Republican, Shriner, realtor," and another was identified as "prominent in town, has entree with Taft."

On the other side of the housing argument, the National Housing Conference was informed by a Florida member after he had listed twelve local citizens:

"I feel that these twelve men are probably the most outstanding men in Lakeland and each of them is definitely in favor of slum clearance and additional public housing for Lakeland."

The staff of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, under the signature of former Senator Robert

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F. Wagner, the chairman, wrote to 1,500 "public-opinion formers" around the country in 1945 requesting comments on the criticism of the Full Employment bill. It was admitted that the plan was to develop public interest and pressure from key individuals.

As the Democratic committee members reported in the light of these and many similiar findings: "Quality as well as quantity pays in pressure politics."

The threat of reprisal at the polls, always present, is sometimes openly mentioned.

Nathan Cowan, legislative director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, recommended in letters to executives and legislative representatives of all affiliated unions, dated July 29, 1948:

"In every letter, every wire, every 'phone call, remind your congressman we'll remember the record in November."

The most careful planning, too, goes into the selection of witnesses to appear at congressional committee hearings. Obviously, a well prepared presentation must be made if the arguments are to be clear and logical. But the lobbyists go much farther than that. They consider, for example, the emotional reaction to various types of witness.

In a letter dated January 17, 1949, Art Barrett of Detroit sent this suggestion to the National Association of Real Estate Boards:

"I believe our case opposing the extension of rent control would be helped tremendously if we could parade in a few small property owners from around the country, a little bedraggled and run-down-at-the-heels-looking, who could get their story over to Congress that the small man who owns a little property is taking one hell of a beating."

Such cynical stage setting may blur the true picture and even astute congressmen may be deceived unless they look behind the scene. This kind of a show has the further advantage of building public opinion outside Washington which, in turn, puts pressure from home on the legislator.

DRAFTS OF BILLS OR AMENDMENTS TO PENDING LEGISLATION may be prepared by lobbyists for busy congressmen. Despite a special drafting setup attached to Congress' own administrative machinery, it is not an uncommon practice to call on outside help. One may be reasonably certain that the drafter is not going to cut his own special interest's throat. Of course, a Representative or Senator is entirely free to reject the work and turn the assignment over to someone else.

Further, initial — and sometimes final — drafts of speeches are written for congressmen by those who want to voice a viewpoint on Capitol Hill. Robert J. Lancraft, director of the Realtors' Washington Committee speakers' bureau, made this statement in a memorandum presented at the lobbying hearings:

"We have frequently written talks for public use by friendly congressmen; many of these have been placed upon the *Congressional Record*."

This business of inserting a speech in the *Congressional Record* is important because then it may be printed by the Government Printing Office at a minimum cost and distributed postage free by a willing congressman under his franking privilege. One of the perquisites of members of Congress is this right to mail reprints from the *Record* at no cost to themselves.

Edward A. Rumely, executive director of the Committee for Constitutional Government, bluntly wrote in a 1948 letter which was introduced at a hearing:

"My thought with this piece is that if we could get it inserted into the *Congressional Record,* we could do a mass distribution job at low cost."

In another letter, Mr. Rumely stated that nothing equals franked material "in effectiveness, per dollar spent." Meanwhile, his organization publicly advocated the curtailing of governmental expenditures.

In 1949, Representative Ralph W. Gwinn, New York Republican, according to information presented to the committee, topped all members of Congress in the use of his franking privilege. He sent out that year approximately 2,500,000 copies of speeches, postage free. Some of these included such items as "Public Housing, Disastrous Here and Abroad," "Socialized Medicine," "4,000 Years of Failure of OPA," and "Socialism—American Variety." The lobbies reimbursed the congressman for the cost of reprints he ordered from the Government Printing Office.

Representative Charles A. Halleck, Indiana Republican member of the House Select Committee, quickly pointed out during the disclosures of Representative Gwinn's franking totals that regardless of how much mail a congressman franked out the federal government departments and agencies sent out a great deal more—all of it postage free.

ACTIVITIES OF A MORE PERSONAL NATURE MAY BE INCLUDED in the lobbyist's "service function." Some years ago, Robert M. La Follette, Jr., then Senator from Wisconsin, referred to the social or "plush horse" lobby. Times have not changed much in that respect. Formal dinners, informal gatherings, with cocktails or highballs, and smokers are an accepted part of the Washington scene.

Representative Brown said that the social lobby "has a great and very direct influence many times on legislation," and then suggested jokingly:

"Maybe we should give these lobbyists a special flag and have them raise the flag out in front of their home or embassy on the evenings they are going to do a little lobbying to get a few billion dollars of somebody else's money."

It would be naïve to assume that because a member of Congress accepts an invitation to a dinner party he is being "bought" for some special interest but the fact remains that continued association with spokesmen for only one side in a controversy possibly may sway his thinking when the roll call takes place.

Other services that lobbyists perform include finding houses or apartments for newcomers in the overcrowded capital, arranging for lucrative speaking engagements or writing assignments, and providing free assistance for such outside work.

Yet despite refinements in lobbying at Washington, the major development among contemporary pressure groups as contrasted with those of other generations is swaying public opinion in legislators' home districts. The modern lobbyist no longer confines himself to legislative

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halls and Washington drawing rooms. In fact, his major effort is likely to be expended in the grass roots where the expert seeks to mold popular opinion to his own ends or, at least, to make it appear that his viewpoint is general. In a representative government, a congressman can with good faith vote for a proposal if a large segment of his constituents appear to favor it. But sentiment "back home" in some cases, can be artificially stimulated or the apparent results of a lobbying campaign neatly stacked to suit the pleasure of the manipulator. Unless this is widely known and counterbalanced, the scales of democracy may be seriously upset.

Referring specifically to the executive agencies, but equally appropriate for other phases of pressure politics, Representative Halleck said: "The committee has pretty well discovered, I think, that one of the very effective ways to influence legislation is to operate out at the grass roots and possibly to deal in public opinion."

Like airmen during World War II, some lobbies resorted to what might be called saturation bombing of the opinion molders around the country. Not only were reprints from the *Congressional Record* used, but books and pamphlets were distributed wholesale.

The Committee for Constitutional Government, according to testimony, sought to put a copy of John T. Flynn's book, "The Road Ahead," in every fifth home in the United States. This book included such statements as, "A strike should be considered as an offense against society . . ." "What we should do is to repeal all federal labor laws on wages, hours of labor, collective bargaining, minimum wages, etc., and abolish all boards, bureaus, and commissions that result from these laws . . ." and "We must restrain the grasping hand of the Executive."

The National Association of Real Estate Boards bought 500,000 copies of a leaflet, "Roofs or Ceilings," for distribution through its membership locally during its fight against rent control. The Foundation for Economic Education, established in 1946, sent out some 4,000,000 copies of various pamphlets during the first four years of its existence. The Public Affairs Institute, supported largely by union funds, reported the distribution of 14,400 copies of its most popular report, "The Role of Collective Bargaining in a Democracy."

In any campaign to shape public opinion, teachers rank high in the order of priorities. As a feather in its lobbying cap, the National Association of Real Estate Boards claimed that it had stimulated the writing of textbooks now used in 127 colleges and universities and that it had induced some educational institutions to give special courses in which, it claimed, its own viewpoint was taught. This does not mean that the teachers or schools were corrupted but simply that they were utilized as far as was possible to win an "opinion" contest.

Editors and newspaper writers also come in for their share of attention. Typical of a thoroughgoing campaign was this suggestion from the public relations department of the National Association of Home Builders to the presidents and secretaries of its local organizations:

"In many communities newspapers will use editorials if they are presented to them. Four suggested editorials are included. Perhaps your papers will use them or rewrite them.

"If the prepared editorials are not used by your newspapers, each of these can be used in another way. They can be addressed to the 'mailbag' column of your newspaper as a signed letter from one of your officers. If you would prefer to use them in this way, do so. Simply have them copied as a letter addressed to the editor of your paper and have one of your officers sign it."

When an antagonistic editorial appeared in one community and was forwarded to Washington, this lobby offered either a rebuttal letter over its Washington representative's signature or a working draft for some local person to send to the newspaper's editor or publisher.

These efforts to influence the press are two edged. Newspapers supply much of the raw material for opinion making. If this raw material is contaminated, then the reading public may arrive at a false conclusion. In the second place, members of Congress follow with special watchfulness the editorials and letters-to-the-editor sections of their home papers. If these are tampered with, the congressman may be misled as to what his constituents really desire.

Press releases also carry ideas to a wide public. Leonard E. Read of the Foundation for Economic Education when he appeared before the committee estimated that one of his organization's releases was reprinted in publications with a combined circulation of at least 100,000,000. This release told how Ted Williams' record-breaking six-figure salary when he signed with the Red Sox was reduced by taxes and inflation to approximately the $80,000 paid to Babe Ruth during his best financial years, 1930 and 1931. Big salaries, particularly after current high taxes, it appeared, are not as big as they seem. Was this propaganda or, as the Foundation claimed, economic education?

Nor is radio neglected in the contest for public support. Under the heading, "Homes for Americans by Democratic Process," the National Association of Real Estate Boards provided its state and local units with ninety paragraphs which could be assembled in numerous arrangements for talks of varying lengths and points of emphasis. This was called "probably the most ingeniously devised" material prepared for radio stations.

The federal government was not above doing something resembling lobbying and the Republican committee members believed it was far from subtle.

The Department of State arranged a series of "stag" parties for members of Congress at Prospect House, residence of former Secretary of Defense James Forrestal. Officials were scrupulously careful to provide the money for refreshments from their own pockets and even paid a *pro rata* share of the house staff salaries and lighting costs. As Under Secretary of State James E. Webb wrote in an invitation to a Senator for the final smoker:

"These informal get-togethers are affording our several Assistant Secretaries an opportunity to know and become known to the members of Congress. We feel certain this leads to relationships which can help solve more expeditiously our many mutual problems in the foreign policy field."

The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* headlined a news story telling about these smokers, "Atcheson & Co. Woos Congress With Its Own Lunch Money." This "wooing" is what any lobbyist would do but he would not be

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using his "own lunch money" to do it. His bosses initially and, in most cases, the unsuspecting public eventually would foot the bill.

In other departments and agencies the story was much the same.

Representative Halleck and Administrator Oscar R. Ewing of the Federal Security Administration brought out the problem in an exchange during a hearing:

Mr. Ewing: "Then do you mean every man in public life has to keep his mouth shut?"

Rep. Halleck: "Certainly not. I would be in bad shape, too."

Mr. Ewing: "We all would."

Rep. Halleck: " . . . Certainly no one can expect any member of the government, any man in public life, to be forever quiet. But, at the same time, there is also something in the statutes about people in the government using money, public funds, in connection with the matter of legislation. I take it you and I would agree that is a salutary thing."

Mr. Ewing: "That is right."

Other differences of opinion on lobbying are not as easily resolved, either for those working in the government or for those registered experts on the pushing end of pressure politics. But there is little disagreement that the effort to influence legislation on Capitol Hill has grown up to both a big business and a fine art.

As the Democratic members of the House Select Committee concluded:

"This all-out drive on the Nation's mind is, then, the major emphasis in modern pressure politics . . . No means of affecting men's thinking, no institutional opinion process, no mechanical innovation is overlooked. Direct efforts to influence legislation have not disappeared, but they are becoming ever more incidental to this carefully thought out and sharply focussed attempt to capture public opinion."

What might be done?

Suggestions have been advanced to remove many of the opportunities for lobbying. One proposal would simplify both the legislative and administrative organization of the federal government. This might possibly narrow the borderland where the lobbyist can most successfully operate. The recommendations of the Hoover Commission to improve the executive arm provide a start. But more than that needs to be done and even this first step is encountering much opposition. Another idea is stronger party discipline so that once an election had been won, the victory could not be frittered away by successful pressure groups splitting off first one, then another, section until campaign promises were broken wholesale. The difficulty here is that such regimentation might create more problems than it would solve. Individuality always has ranked high in American politics and it would be almost impossible to wipe out this tradition.

Thus one is forced back upon use of the revealing light of publicity. If all lobby groups were forced to disclose who their workers are, what they spend and how, where the money came from, and what legislation they support and oppose, then at least part of the behind-the-scenes activities would be brought into the open. No doubt lobbying as such will always exist. But the public should have the facts as to how it works, including dollars and names.

And that, in effect, is what the House Select Committee proposed in its recommendations.

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. . . I decline to accept the end of man. It is easy enough to say that man is immortal simply because he will endure; that when the last ding-dong of doom has clanged and faded from the last worthless rock hanging tideless in the last red and dying evening, that even then there will still be one more sound: that of his puny inexhaustible voice, still talking.

I refuse to accept this. I believe that man will not merely endure: he will prevail. He is immortal, not because he alone among creatures has an inexhaustible voice but because he has a soul, a spirit capable of compassion and sacrifice and endurance. The poet's, the writer's, duty is to write about these things. It is his privilege to help man endure by lifting his heart, by reminding him of the courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past. The poet's voice need not merely be the record of man, it can be one of the props, the pillars to help him endure and prevail.

—William Faulkner, *in accepting the Nobel Prize in Literature at Stockholm.*

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White Boy in Georgia

A young southerner, turned New Englander, tells how a middle class white child is trained in the principles and practices of race prejudice and segregation.

JAMES W. LARGEN

MOST RECENT BOOKS ABOUT THE RACE SITUATION IN THE South have been written from the standpoint of the Negro minority, and described the bad effects of the caste system on this group. Richard Wright and W. E. B. DuBois, for instance, have shown vividly what it means to grow up as a Negro in the United States. But what are the results of this same situation on white people? I am not referring to the "po' whites" described by William Faulkner and Erskine Caldwell, but the average respected members of the white community. Here the effects are not so obvious. It is less easy to discover what it does to a human being to grow up in an environment which impresses on him the fact that by God's will he is a racially superior being. Many southern whites give the impression of being completely convinced that this is the case. On close acquaintance, however, it may be found that the feeling is not completely honest. There is a doubt lurking within many racially superior southerners which sometimes expresses itself in self-conscious contradictions. For example, as pointed out by Gunnar Myrdal, a white southerner can explain the suppression of the Negroes by saying that they are satisfied with their status, then, in the next sentence he can proceed to explain that suppression is necessary because Negroes have a deep rooted craving to be like white people.

My own childhood and youth illustrate how race attitudes are developed in a white middle class family in the Deep South. Of course, any study of a single family brings out factors which distinguish that family from the "typical." In my case, my maternal grandmother lived in our house until she died, when I was nine years old, and my father died the same year.

My father was a salesman whose territory covered several southeastern states. He had a good income, and belonged to the Masons and to various business organizations. We were members of the First Methodist Church South of the little town near Atlanta in which we lived. My mother taught in the Sunday school, and we attended church and Sunday school regularly.

My mother was born on a Georgia farm, but her family moved to Atlanta during her childhood, and she was educated in Atlanta public elementary and high schools. Father was born on a tenant farm in western Tennessee. Seven years of school was the extent of his education except for some evening classes after his marriage. After working a few years on his father's farm, he left home and found employment in several Alabama towns before landing in Atlanta and finally obtaining a job there, first as pipe fitter, then draftsman, and finally salesman—an occupation for which he was well suited.

Both my parents had the race-conscious view of white, farm-reared southerners. In my mother it was intensified by the fact that her father fought in the "War Between the States," as it was always referred to in our home. All through her childhood she had heard tales of Sherman's march through Georgia and of her father's fight against the "Yankees." Her family's removal to Atlanta after the Civil War and the poverty in which they lived was blamed directly on "Niggers and Yankees."

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—By a Georgian who took his college degree in his native South, served in the army during World War II, and now is studying for his Master's degree in social science at New York University, preparatory to teaching.

A WHITE CHILD'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS NEGROES BEGINS TO develop very early in the South. Among my earliest emotional memories are feelings of hatred toward Negroes. In my home there was no doubt that they were all poor, lazy, stupid, immoral, dirty, and so on—because of something inherently wrong in the colored race. No one in my home ever wondered whether the conditions under which Negroes lived in our community had any effect on their position in life. Factors which may have contributed to their condition were ignored or unknown—all faults came from within.

There was always a vague feeling of fear which was transmitted to me through hearing warnings about locking doors at night, since there were bad "Niggers" about. This was before the day of the burglar bars to be found on the windows of many Atlanta homes today. These heavy steel bars are placed over the window openings and in some cases made into swinging doors, often giving a house the appearance of a jail. Their popularity is due to the southern white's fear of the Negro, but a mutual fear is shared by the Negroes, and colored people are among the best customers for these burglar bars.

The forming of my attitude toward Negroes was done both deliberately and unconsciously. The Ku Klux Klan used to dress in robes and parade in automobiles down the street behind our house and on into the segregated colored section, always referred to as "Nigger town." This parade took place every year. The cars would pass slowly through the narrow, crooked, unpaved, red clay gulleys of the Negro community as a warning that "White supremacy still rules."

I listened to tales about Negro cowardice and how,

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Frederic Lewis. Phot

The Georgia boy grew up in a small southern town like this comfortable, two-story house on just such a tree-lined s

in a fight, all a white man had to do to vanquish his Negro opponent was to kick his shins. I also listened to the police chief telling of his Saturday night raids in "Nigger town," where he would sometimes find several men and women lying on a dance hall floor "cut up" with razors. I accepted everything he said as being absolutely true and had no doubt as to his bravery and his ability to handle any six bloodthirsty Negro men armed with razors a foot long. Invariably, some bystander, listening admiringly to such accounts, would remark upon the daring of Negroes when fighting among their own people as contrasted with their cowardice when fighting whites. No one was ever so indiscreet as to suggest that the fear of mob punishment, an ever-present threat to any Negro rash enough to fight with a white man and whip him, might have had its effect.

Once a truckload of Negroes was involved in an accident on the highway outside my home town. A car had run into the rear of the truck where several colored men had been sitting with their legs hanging out. These men were badly mangled and crushed. The truck stopped and the seriously injured were laid out on the side of the road, while friends applied tourniquets and did what they could to ease the pain. A call was sent to the nearest town for ambulances. But when the ambulances arrived, the interns and attendants refused to allow the men to be transported to the hospital—"white" ambulances could not be used for Negroes. When finally "Negro" ambulances were sent out from Atlanta, fifteen or twenty miles away, they arrived too late to prevent the death of at least one man. This was one of the few times that I heard anyone criticize the segregation policy. The feeling was that in such an emergency the bars should be lifted just enough to get seriously injured men to the hospital.

One of my first memories is of Morgan, the young nephew of Bess, our colored cook. Every night he came to walk home with Bess. He would sit in the kitchen near the stove, and Bess would give him his supper. I remember my amazement at the appearance and feel of the boy's close cropped hair. I would run my hands over his head and ask him why his hair was so short and why it felt so different from my own. He never failed to give me a good-natured answer, and I liked him very much.

Bess was sending Morgan to school, and she also supported her mother on the three dollars a week which my mother paid her. For this wage she not only prepared three meals, but did the laundry, tended the children, cleaned the house, and, in general, took over all the functions ordinarily handled by an able-bodied wife and mother. Since she arrived in the mornings before seven in order to cook breakfast, she worked twelve to thirteen hours a day to earn her pay. Bess stayed with us from as far back as I can remember until I was seven or eight years old.

The contrast between Bess's house and our own impressed me very much. Her house stood on a dusty road in "Nigger town," among other similar shacks, all erected by a white contractor for less than five hundred dollars apiece. The inhabitants rented the houses, since few of them were financially able to purchase one of these poor dwellings, and the contractor enjoyed a steady source of income. Bess's house, like its neighbors, had never had an outside coat of paint. The front steps were broken and the porch had missing planks through which one could see a pig and chickens hiding from the scorching Georgia sun. Inside the front door was the combination bedroom, living room, and kitchen. Besides the double bed, there was an old, battered bureau with a picture of Bess's brother, in his World War uniform, his face just a blur in the photograph. A few rickety kitchen chairs leaned haphazardly around the room, and there was one wooden rocker. The floor was of rough pine with no rugs. A calendar hung upon one of the dingy walls, which were papered with the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Atlanta Constitution*, our two leading newspapers. At the back of the room was a wood-burning cook stove. The heat in this room was terrific in the summer

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months, with the sun burning on the roof above, and the cook stove burning within.

Contrasting Bess's home with our own large, two story house, I could not understand why she continued to live there, and I asked her repeatedly why she didn't come and live with us. I pestered my mother with the same question without getting a satisfactory answer. Finally my grandmother explained to me that "Niggers don't live like white people, and Bess would never be happy living in a house like ours." Thus, I was taught that happiness means something different to Negroes like Bess than to white people like me.

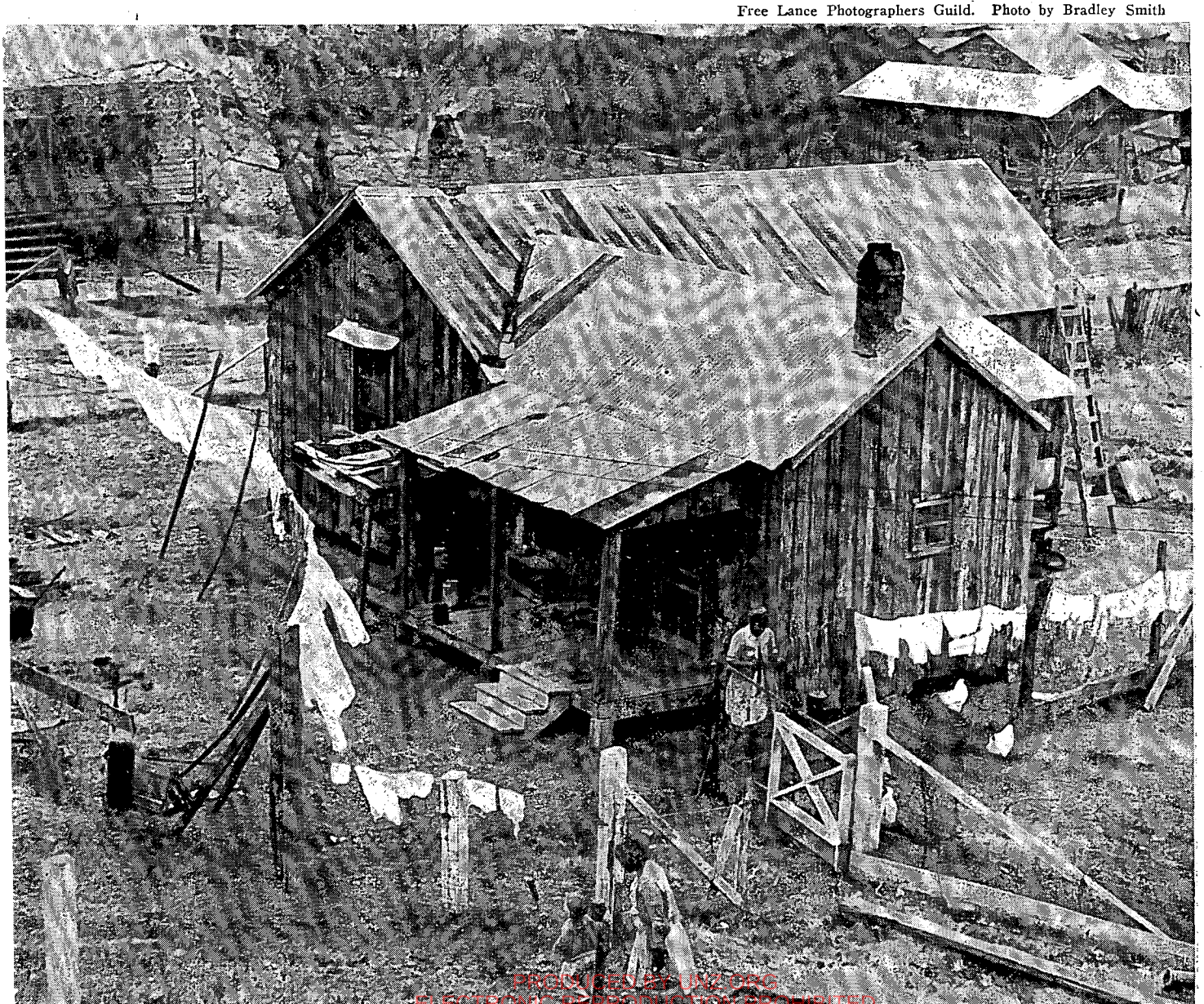
My grandmother assumed the task of bringing me up, as my mother often had to help in some of the sidelines, such as a pressing club and a roadside eating place, in which my father invested from time to time. His traveling sales job kept him away from home a great deal and someone had to manage these other enterprises during his absence. Grandmother had her own ideas about raising children. One of the cornerstones of her theory was a firm belief in daily whippings. These were administered with a peachtree switch broken off the trees in our backyard. Every day she applied the thin stinging switch to my bare legs with obvious relish while I screamed with pain and anger.

Looking back on those days, and knowing something of the old woman's past, I understand now why she felt compelled to inflict punishment so frequently. She was born in middle Georgia in 1844, and her life until the Civil War was evidently happy. Her family was not wealthy, but they owned a few slaves and they had a pleasant home. With a young Negro girl to wait on her, she was not required to do anything for herself. Her mother had died while she was a young child, and since her father did not remarry, she had a great deal of freedom from parental restriction. With the war, her life of ease was over. After marrying and spending some discouraging years on various farms, she and her husband moved to Atlanta and opened a boarding house. My grandmother hated cooking because she felt it was "Niggers' work," but she was forced to cook for the boarders in order to support her family. My grandfather managed to get part time jobs now and then, but he was never able to adjust himself to the city.

With the boarding house and her family of eight children, life for grandmother was completely changed from her girlhood days. Then her family had been well known and respected members of the community, while in Atlanta they were just another family of "po' whites." So far as she was concerned, "Niggers" and "Yankees" were directly to blame for her dreary adult life. She

—and "across the tracks" Bess and Morgan lived in a segregated Negro neighborhood similar to this

Free Lance Photographers Guild. Photo by Bradley Smith



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never changed her views about either and her hatred for both was expressed frequently in my presence.

Grandmother was an old-fashioned Methodist, and she had very definite ideas about good and evil. I listened to her read from the Bible as soon as I was able to understand the English language. The Bible stories were as "real" to her as were the daily happenings around us, and she made them real to me, also. Some of these stories were a little difficult to reconcile with her feelings of hate toward Negroes, but she never thought it illogical for a "good Christian" to hate and despise other human beings as she did.

Grandmother told many tales about the old days in the South when "Yankees stayed 'up North'" and "Niggers stayed in their place." Sherman's march through Georgia and the evil deeds of the Yankee soldiers were rehearsed over and over. She took me to church with her and we prayed, sang hymns, and listened to the minister give forth his own brand of "hell fire and damnation" wrapped up in "brotherly love." Our minister sometimes stated from the pulpit that everyone must go to church in order to be saved, but his Negro cook stayed all through church time in the minister's kitchen preparing the Sunday dinner. Of course, I knew the preacher didn't mean Negroes when he spoke of everyone attending church, but somehow it didn't seem just right. I could never get a satisfactory answer from anyone to any of these perplexing problems since no one else ever seemed to sense any contradictions. The answer usually conveyed the impression that it wasn't right to have such doubts and I should accept things and stop worrying about them.

A THOUGHT THAT NEVER OCCURRED TO ME AS A CHILD WAS the fact that there are different classes within the Negro group. All Negroes were lumped together as being low and degraded. I don't remember ever hearing an intelligent discussion in my home, in school, or in church about the reasons for the southern Negroes' position in life. My family and associates apparently accepted the stereotype answers to the problems caused by caste restrictions in the South. Hearing nothing to the contrary, I, like most southern white children, grew up accepting the group opinions held by my adult world, though I harbored a few grave doubts of my own.

My father did not have as great an effect on my thinking and attitudes as did my grandmother and my mother. However, his influence was not entirely unnoticed. He had a hearty, aggressive attitude toward life, which helped him in his rise from a Tennessee tenant farm to a fairly substantial position. He often instructed me to "fight anybody who picks on you even if he's twice as big as Dr. Bates [our druggist, a man over six feet tall and weighing some two hundred pounds]. If you get a licking, I'll give you another one when you get home." I never stopped to wonder how he was going to find out whether I got a licking or not. I just assumed that he had some way of determining that point and that I had better not get licked.

To make certain that we could protect ourselves, my father bought miniature boxing gloves for my brother and me and taught us something of the art of boxing. He got a lot of fun out of watching us fight. The gloves went along on our visits to his relatives in Tennessee, and we fought with our cousins as well as between ourselves. I was not naturally an aggressive child and I disliked these exhibitions, but since my father told me to fight, I fought. I even began to derive pleasure from fights, provided I was the victor. On the whole, I do not think these attempts to make a fighter out of me had the effect my father intended. Actually, I avoided fights unless I was pretty certain that I could win. This made me somewhat of a bully towards younger and weaker boys, especially my brother.

THIS ARTIFICIAL AGGRESSIVENESS ALSO AFFECTED OUR ATTITUDES toward Negroes. In company with the two boys next door, my brother and I began to take it upon ourselves to make the Negroes "keep their place." This is common among southern white children as well as among their elders. If we four boys discovered Negroes walking on the sidewalk in front of our homes, we would shout at them to get on the other side of the street, the side we considered to be for their use. Sometimes we would corner a lone Negro boy and try to provoke him into a fight. We were rather daring so long as we were in a group in the white section of town. The situation was reversed when we went into the woods to play or to hunt arrowheads. To reach the woods, it was necessary to go through "Nigger town." Here we had to run the gantlet of Negro gangs who "rocked" us all the way through "their" town.

Once I was caught by a gang of Negro boys while alone in the woods. One of the boys picked up a jagged rock and standing about fifteen feet away threw it at my head with all his strength. I ducked, and the rock hissed past my ear. The look of hate on his face just before hurling the rock expressed all the pent-up resentment which he felt toward white people, and I knew he meant to kill me. All the cowardly, mean acts which my gang and I had ever committed toward Negroes welled up in my thoughts and "the fear of God was in me." I leaped from the ground where I had flung myself, broke between two of the boys and ran home more swiftly than ever I ran before or since. For days I was afraid to go into the woods.

Every year my grandparents in Tennessee had a family reunion to which all their children, grandchildren, and relatives from several counties were invited. A few outlanders like ourselves would show up, too. My father always arranged his vacation so that we would not miss this family gathering.

The food was spread out on long tables under the trees, and the seventy-five to a hundred members of the clan would begin to "clean up." After dinner the men would gather together, to reminisce about the happenings of long ago when they were young people on Tennessee farms. We children would cluster on the outskirts and listen to these tales. One of my favorite uncles, who had farmed in Georgia at one time, had a story which he told every year. In the particular Georgia county where he had lived, the Negro tenants were forced to address *white* mules by the term "Mr. Mule." He always got a big laugh out of an appreciative audience as he acted out the part of a Negro plowing a field and addressing his mule as "Mr. Mule." Any derogatory story about a Negro could get a laugh from an audience of Tennessee or Georgia farmers. Negroes and mules were

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often associated in these stories, with the mule usually excelling in mental dexterity.

My caste training continued as I grew older and entered high school. On one occasion I got on a bus with another boy. The bus was crowded, except for two seats at the rear, each occupied by a Negro man. My friend, not liking the idea of standing while Negroes were seated, decided that we should do something about the situation. His solution was simple and direct. We were to go to the back of the bus and demand that one Negro get up and let us be seated. I held back, pointing out that the person we were to oust was a big, husky man while we were a couple of school kids. This seemed stupid reasoning to him, because we were white and the man was colored, but since I lacked the courage to back him up he decided not to attempt the ouster and spent the rest of the trip muttering about "damn Niggers who don't know how to keep their place."

On Friday afternoons and Saturdays I got a job in a grocery store. Here I discovered at first hand the grocery clerks' method of dealing with Negro customers. The clerks refused to wait on a Negro as long as a white customer was in the store. If a Negro was waiting his turn and a white man or woman came in, the Negro had to stand aside until the new arrival had been served. For some reason, I decided one Saturday morning to take everyone in turn, regardless of color. The manager saw what I was doing, but he waited until later to get his revenge. That afternoon he picked out a little colored boy who often hung around the store, gave him some penny candy, and told him to go up to me and call me "daddy." It was a "joke" that caused me embarrassment for a long time.

While visiting an aunt and uncle who lived in a small town near Atlanta, I had another view of the traditional southern belief in the stupidity of Negroes. This family employed a little colored boy to do odd jobs around the house and yard. One morning my aunt shouted to him from the dining room, "Watch the biscuits in the stove." He was sitting in front of the kitchen stove at the time warming his hands, so he continued to sit there facing the oven. My aunt came into the kitchen after a few minutes and began to "cuss him out" for being so stupid as to take her command literally. She hadn't intended him actually to sit down and watch the biscuits, but to stop his work now and then and look at them. His protests that he had finished his work and was just warming his hands while he waited for breakfast were of no use. She called my uncle into the kitchen to look at "this dumb Nigger" and how he "watched the biscuits."

On another occasion, several of my cousins and I were driving on a lonely mountain road when we came upon a colored youth walking along by himself. The driver, who was about seventeen, stopped the car and asked the boy if he wanted a ride. He jumped on the running board and we took off. The driver increased the speed when we hit a straight stretch of road and suddenly swerved the car to the left, so that the boy hanging onto the opposite side of the car almost lost his grip. His feet were jerked from the running board and he just managed to pull himself back. Since we were speeding at between fifty and sixty miles an hour, he would have been killed or seriously injured if he had fallen off. Everyone in the car got a big kick out of this, and no one seemed to worry about the safety of the young Negro. He was badly frightened and begged my cousin to stop the car and let him off. His request was refused but we soon had to check our speed because of a slow moving vehicle in front of us and the boy jumped off, thankful to escape uninjured from his white "benefactors."

These incidents from my childhood and youth which contributed to my caste training are, I think, fairly typical of what shapes personalities in many white middle class homes in the South. In my home I began early to accept the belief that being white made me a superior being. My point of view toward all Negroes was based on the treatment of our cook by my family, and by the attitudes and conversation of my family and playmates.

Further, I was brought up under the teaching of an "old style" Protestant religion with its strong belief in "right" and "wrong." Swift punishment with no explanation was often administered for any deviation from the accepted rules for a child's behavior. This built up resentment within me because often I was unable to see any connection between what I had done and the punishment I received. Since my training had taught me to show respect to white adults, I was unable to express my resentment toward the grown-up members of the family. However, there had been no attempt to instill in me a similar respect toward Negroes. In fact, all that I saw and heard established an attitude just the opposite of respect toward *them*. This lack of respect and the corresponding absence of any fear of consequences caused me to vent my accumulated resentments on the Negroes with whom I came in contact. To make this easier, the stamp of approval was actually put on aggression toward Negroes. This was not always expressed, but silence in the face of rudeness and even violence impressed me with the fact that there was nothing to fear because of such behavior. Thus in the white southern child a pattern of aggression toward Negroes is shaped and when he becomes an adult this attitude is a part of his personality.

Relatively few persons reared under the influences of a conservative middle class white southern family, who continue to live in the social setup of the South, are able to rid themselves of the belief in their own racial superiority. Even if one doubts the truth of these convictions, the social pressure is usually too great for even a potential liberal to go counter to the group opinion. Lillian Smith of Clayton, Georgia, and Judge J. W. Waring of Charleston, South Carolina, are examples of liberal southerners who have overstepped the caste restrictions to a certain extent. My understanding is that both these distinguished southerners are ostracized by many of their former friends. These two individuals happen to be financially secure—they are not threatened by loss of income because of their break with custom and tradition. But for the average southern liberal the economic problem assumes an importance which cannot be disregarded. He is apt to force into the back of his mind any doubts about things as they are and to accept the prevailing view. It is much easier to live anywhere if one goes along with the majority. This is especially true in the South where virtually all agencies seem bent on preserving the caste *status quo*.

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Youth in the West Zone

The backgrounds, experiences, and attitudes which warp so many young Germans, imperiling not only their own future but the peace of Europe and the world.

ROSE ALBERT PORTER

WHAT KIND OF YOUNG PEOPLE ARE GROWING UP IN postwar Germany? The answer is important—not only to Germany, but to the peace and welfare of Europe, and the rest of the world as well. I have had a somewhat unusual opportunity to study this new generation. For more than a year, I have lived in the Rhine-Westphalia industrial area directly adjoining the Ruhrgebiet, and my German is fluent. I have talked to young people in all the Zones, in railroad stations and restaurants, at tennis courts and concert halls, in the student centers. I have given them lifts along the *Autobahn*. But I know them best from having lived and played with them in a Quaker neighborhood center in the British Zone of West Germany.

This center is located in the industrial city of Wuppertal famous for its *Schwebebahn,* an overhanging trolley which sways precariously over the muddy, dye-stained waters of the Wupper River. The city has a population of some 400,000 with a large number of young people, who are typical of Germany's urban youth. Many refugees from the East come through Wuppertal and their attitude and ideas are colored by the fact that they have an extra hurdle to overcome.

Last summer, sleeping on the floor of the emergency quarters in a *Jugendherbirge* (youth hostel) with a group of young people from the center, I was given some startling statistics. In a group of twenty-two, fifteen had lost their fathers in World War II (dead or missing), most of them in Russia. Another father was blinded, still another permanently crippled and one boy of sixteen had lost his entire family in an air attack.

He had been one of the center's "difficult" boys. If one of his companions accidentally shoved Hans, he would go off alone and cry bitterly. It was when he and I were taking a walk together, he told me about his tragedy. One day when the siren sounded, he recounted, he was caught on one of the numerous bridges that cross the Wupper. With other people he dived into the shallow water and waited while the earth shook with percussion bombs and the city flamed for miles around. Some people ran out of their burning houses only to be caught in the molten hot asphalt. But Hans managed to outwait the bombardment. When it ended, he ran through the rain of debris, smoke, and fumes, only to find his house demolished and his family buried in the smoldering hot ashes, rubble, and broken cement blocks.

Many young Germans have a similar experience behind them. It is not conducive to a stable, integrated attitude toward life. Just as the buildings in a bombed out area are shells that look whole at a distance and only reveal their hollow interiors on closer view, so the young people of Germany (at first glance much like the youth of other lands) expose their sick souls only on closer acquaintance. However expressed, fearful insecurity is the chief characteristic of West German youth today. The insecurity may show itself as nervous conceit and overconfidence, as haunting fear, cynical resignation or shut-in absorption in self.

The age group strongly influenced by HJ (Hitler *Jugend*) and BDM (*Bund Deutscher Maedchen*) is the sickest of all. Many are unwilling to believe that Hitler was wrong—only that he failed; or that his ideas were sound but his execution of them bad. This view characterizes many of the university students who were soldiers at sixteen or seventeen. A medical student in Munich, presenting this viewpoint, said that one third of his fellow students in that area agree with him. He held that if Hitler felt that the Jews should get out of Germany he had a perfect right to this opinion but that he should have let them go quietly with their possessions and that he was only wrong in having imprisoned and killed them. Similarly with all other anti-Hitler groups —Communists, Social Democrats, and so on. Where all these people should have gone the young man did not profess to know.

MOST OF THIS STUDENT GROUP HELD THAT THEY WERE ready to reject Nazism completely in 1945 and eager to embrace democratic ideas but they insisted we did not "ring true."

Neither the British nor the Americans carried conviction — there was too wide a gap between what we said and what we did. In rejecting democracy practically all the young Germans explained to me that our treatment of Negroes made them skeptical, and insisted that such discrimination is closely akin to Nazism.

No one in the United States can realize how race discrimination bomerangs in Europe. Every effort to explain it away is met with cynical disbelief. German youth are extremely well informed on how discrimination works in the States. A young veteran of twenty-one in one of the English classes in the center told me that he had been driven to an American prison camp by a Negro soldier. He said the soldier treated him with such unexpected kindness that he inquired the reason. The Ne-

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—By an American social worker recently returned from a year and a half with the American Friends Service Committee in Germany.

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gro answered, the German said, "Why not? You're a prisoner. I'm a slave."

German students as a rule separate themselves from the young people of the working class. This sharp division is hard for an American to understand. The young wage earners resent the students. They say that money, not scholarship, decides whether or not one gets an education. I felt that this system, under which a boy or girl of thirteen or fourteen becomes a *Lehrling* (apprentice) instead of going on with school, is a major cause of discontent in West Germany today. One evening a pale little boy, who looked about eleven by American standards, stood outside the Quaker center smoking a cigarette. As I came along he asked why he couldn't come in to the center at night. I explained the city laws that require youngsters to be home before dark. He protested, "But I am seventeen—eighteen soon." Astonished, I asked him some questions. A mason's apprentice, he received thirty marks a month (about $7). Apprentices serve from two to five years and receive token sums almost below a living wage. TB is quite common among them as are other diseases caused by malnourishment. Almost all have skin sores due to inadequate diet or dirt. With the housing shortage, such a child usually sleeps with two or three other children, and they may be joined by the grownups too.

Many of the West German youth in both the student and apprentice groups are eager to emigrate. Those studying for the professions, particularly the medical students, are convinced that there is no future for them in Germany. This intense wish to leave Germany and often to leave Europe may be another evidence of anxiety and insecurity.

German youth's generally high standards of honesty and obedience are impressive. Only yesterday the black market thrived, and American and British supplies were often the main sources. The grim spur of hunger prompted parents and grownups to direct children and youth into these activities. Often young people, girls as well as boys, hung on to freight cars and rode into the country looking for a potato field or an orchard to rob. Coal, wood, or anything else that would serve as fuel, were fair objects for theft. In the darkest period, older boys roved the torn, unlighted city streets to rob and steal. More than one respectable citizen returned home stark naked. Suddenly, with currency reform, goods began to appear in shop windows, ruins began to be cleaned up, employment was available, and with these first signs of order, most parents forbade all illicit activity. In general, the young people accepted this sudden about-face. However, as reminders of the "bad days" there is still incessant smoking and the drinking of schnapps and wines by adolescents.

There is little time or opportunity for play. Where a neighborhood center is a second or third choice in the States, in Germany it is so important that the young people cling to it desperately. When a special time is set aside for certain groups to play pingpong, or chess, or for folk dancing, the others hang about aimlessly, having no other place to go. At home, quarters are so crowded there is incessant quarreling and friction. Standards of sex behavior have been twisted and warped. From what the young people told me, Hitler youth organizations encouraged an un-moral attitude—that is, everything was all right if it was done for the Fuehrer and "right" and "wrong" changed constantly with National Socialist policy, whether it had to do with religion or the social *mores*.

In their own homes today, young people are con-

Photos by Otfried Schmidt from Black Star

Students at the Munich Technical College attend lectures in their work clothes. Between classes they work at the restoration of the college

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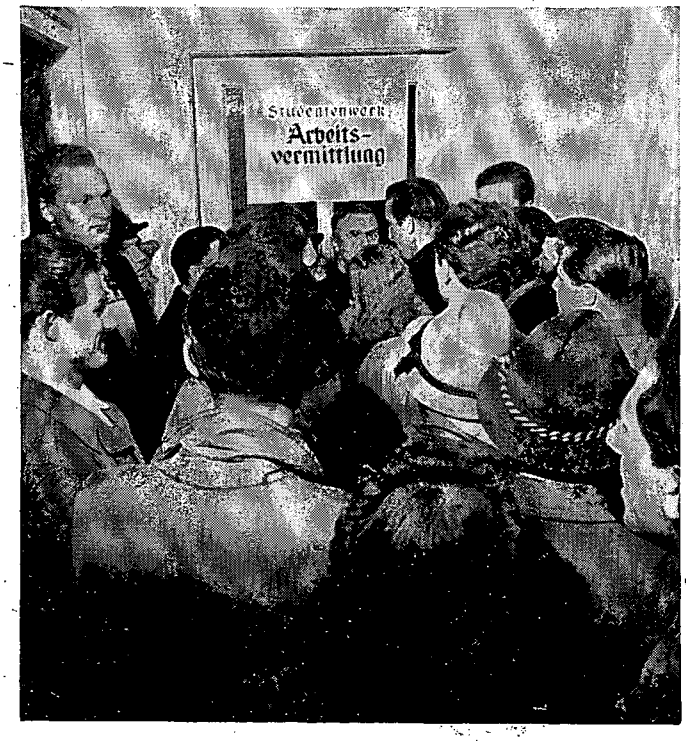
fronted with situations which have no resemblance to normal standards. They say bitterly that the older generation tries to impose a "do as I say but not as I do" principle. Often a refugee is taken into a home that is already overcrowded. In the fatherless household he becomes the "Uncle." Often, since the father is missing but not certified dead, a marriage is impossible. Or perhaps the Uncle has left a wife somewhere along the long trek from Schleswig-Holstein to the Ruhrgebiet and does not know whether she is alive or dead. When the



Applicants for part time work to help defray college expenses crowd a students' labor exchange

mother in such a home attempts to curb a daughter's behavior, the daughter is likely to point out that the mother's situation is not above reproach.

Even in so-called "normal" homes the pressures are often abnormal. A "home" may be a cubby hole in a windowless bunker, the built-up corner of a bombed house, or a room with only three walls standing. Young people may pass shop windows piled with luxurious foods or expensive clothes, but the diet at home is still red cabbage and potatoes and the clothes are mostly made-over. The father, who fell in Russia, may have left a suit in the closet when he was called to the front, and the son or daughter now inherits these garments. The final costume probably will not even faintly resemble the "Vienna model" in the shop window on Koenigsalle in Duesseldorf. Luxury shops and empty purses, whipped cream cakes in bakeshops and not a drop of milk at home—these are contrasts that make for distrust and discontent.

The war period robbed many young people of their childhood and youth, so some of the twenty-year-olds play like six-year-olds. The youth feel betrayed by their elders, if they feel at all, but most of them try to steel themselves against emotion. To encase themselves in a hard crust of indifference, to center their frenzied activity on securing something for themselves—that seems to be their goal, if one can call it a goal. They are hesitant to help a friend or a neighbor. If they stop for one second in their feverish activity, the war may overtake them, bombs may fall again, and so this intense absorption in self becomes a kind of hypnotic paralysis.

Walking across a busy street corner with a boy of fifteen, I put my hand on his arm as he tried to dash in front of a car. He smiled oddly and said, "You Americans thing a lot about a single life, don't you? We don't. I'm sure that I will die in the next few years when a bomb falls from the sky and blows me up." Even catastrophe is not regarded as general but as highly personalized. I tried to break through this fatalism, but as I spoke of the possibility of peace and saw the eager light of hope come into the boy's eyes, the words stuck in my throat.

Only for a brief moment in the East Sector of Berlin did I lose my sense of the hopelessness of youth. Outside the Russian House of Culture the radio blared a tirade against American millionaires. Not being an American millionaire, I ventured to go inside. The building was teeming with young Germans, busily absorbed, simply but cleanly dressed, somehow not at all fearful. I thought they must be there for a dance or a romantic movie, but no—the sign announced a lecture on what seemed to me an obscure subject and the admission was 50 *pfennige*. When I described this scene to a Munich law student he warned me that I failed to see the sinister factors behind the enthusiasm. Perhaps I did, but still there is the enthusiasm and it is better to face the fact that it is there. Obviously, if there are only fear and uncertainty to set against this eager hopefulness, in the end there will be little choice.

Another strong belief expressed to me by young Germans is their conviction that the principle of "might makes right" governs both international and local affairs. "How have the times changed since Hitler?" they asked me, and I did not know how to reply. But it is easy to see that nothing positive exists in this peculiar isolation of youth. Happiness cannot thrive in such an atmosphere of bitterness and distrust. Americans have brought cigarettes and chocolates, sports and radio programs to German young people—jazz seems to be our most successful contact.

YOUTH PROGRAMS AND CONFERENCES SPONSORED BY US and by the British are many, and are of value. Even with all their limitations, they help break through this emotional isolationism. But until we, and by "we" I think they mean the older generation, can show that we intend to create a world of peace and hope in which young people can fulfill themselves, the youth of West Germany will continue to live in a state of suspended animation. For that in the end is what it really amounts to. One cannot say they are groping. Perhaps as individuals they are seeking a solution of personal problems, but collectively they have stopped groping. They ask themselves certain questions. They ask the same questions of us. "What does Korea mean?" "Will that war spread?" "When will the war reach us here?" "How can I as an individual escape the catastrophe this time?"

Since no answers are forthcoming either from themselves or from us, they hold their breath and wait, insulated by their fatalism against all feelings except anxiety and fear.

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New Hope for the Migrant?

ANNE ROLLER ISSLER

GOVERNOR EARL WARREN'S COMMITTEE to Survey the Agricultural Labor Resources of the San Joaquin Valley, appointed by him March 3, 1950, at the height of last winter's unemployment crisis in this region of vast industrialized farms has just reported. [See "Belated Report on the Okies," by Anne Roller Issler, *The Survey,* May 1950.]

Since for eight decades similar committees appointed during similar crises have reported similar problems on the part of California's migrant farm workers, this would not be stop-press news save for the fact that the request for the current survey came from the "big growers" themselves. At a Conference on Seasonal Workers Problems, held in Fresno last February, the Central Valley Empire Association adopted resolutions calling upon the governor to appoint a commission to recommend such action as might be necessary "to provide these workers with a better standard of living."

Under the chairmanship of J. Earl Coke, director of Agricultural Extension, University of California, and the executive direction of Paul Prasow, labor relations expert on leave from the University of Southern California, the fifteen-member committee employed a small research staff and held public hearings with written as well as oral testimony.

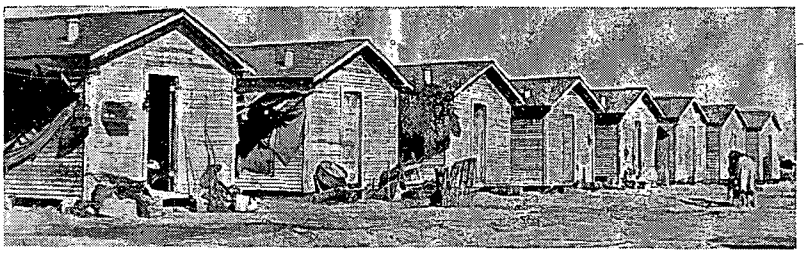
The committee, its members representing growers' organizations, labor, education, social work, state and county government, the churches, veterans and minority groups, made thirty-five formal recommendations. All these may be summed up under five heads—employment, relief, housing, education, physical and mental health.

Considering the fact that most of the seasonal workers' problems were ascribed to "their low economic status," the average annual wage being $1,200, it is noteworthy that there were no recommendations concerning collective bargaining. On the other hand, year-round employment was stressed as "the most important problem confronting agriculture." Statistics for the seven San Joaquin counties showed only 25,500 temporary employes in March, 1950, as compared with 159,000 during the previous October, with 35,000 families on relief in one winter month.

Diversification of crops, public works, and industries to operate in slack seasons, were seen as possible long range aids to full employment, but these must wait upon the future. Hence, "throughout the public hearings, there were presented numerous recommendations for and against extension of unemployment insurance to California agricultural workers," either on a national or a statewide basis. Among the groups on record as favoring such extension were the welfare supervisors of Fresno, Tulare, and Kern counties, the Home Missions Council of North America, the Bakersfield Council of Social Agencies, the California Research and Legislative Committee, the California Federation of Young Democrats, the National Farm Labor Union, AFL, the San Joaquin Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, the Salvation Army, the Fresno Community Service Center. Solidly against the proposal of unemployment insurance for California alone were the major farm organizations, but not all farmers were opposed to such provisions on a national basis. In the end, the committee recommended not only full old age and survivors insurance but extension of unemployment insurance to all agricultural workers in the United States.

Meanwhile, the committee held, the laws governing relief, confused because of residence provisions, must be improved. Backed by county supervisors as well as social workers, the committee recommended county responsibility for county residents, intercounty reimbursements for needy workers away from home, state assistance for those who have not been in any county long enough to establish legal residence. The problem not being confined to California, the governor was urged to explore the question of acquiring federal help in assisting "the interstate migrant in need."

THERE WAS MUCH DISCUSSION OF THE rapid advance of mechanized farming, especially in the cotton fields, where this year it is expected there will be one picking machine to every 500 acres. A program of retraining machine-displaced agricultural workers was favored. The committee also recognized the competition offered the workers by Mexican "wetbacks"—illegal entrants from south of the border—and asked the federal government to increase its border patrol.



A recommendation of almost revolutionary proportions was that favoring the expansion of public housing. The big growers, through their Central Valley Empire Association, testified that "profits,

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income rates, and taxes, do not permit the farmer to provide housing for seasonal workers that is compatible with a decent American standard of living."

The partial remedies suggested by the committee were higher depreciation rates "for income tax purposes," technical building assistance and better housing inspection by the state, and long term loans to workers who "wish to establish roots" by building their own homes.

The final recommendation, that local public housing authorities utilize funds available under the Public Housing Act, was in part a result of the publicity given last winter (not only in *The Survey,* but in the daily press, *Collier's,* and *Life*) to shocking housing conditions in California's rural slums. The new federal law retains for transfer to local public housing authorities the twenty-two model camps formerly managed by the federal government, which the state subsequently refused to buy at a tenth of their value. If the committee's most important recommendation on housing is carried out, these will be augmented by new camps and camp sites under "state, county, and local agencies."

ALMOST AS REVOLUTIONARY WERE SOME of the recommendations concerning education. Because of their migrancy, the children of seasonal workers were described as "handicapped," with needs as definite as those of cripples. The state was asked to provide specialized personnel, to help finance school districts with large enrollment fluctuations, to expand the school lunch program, to retain the Child Care Centers, to plug up the loopholes in the Labor Code that now make it possible to disregard age restrictions, work permits, and health hazards in the employment of children. On the adult side, farmers were urged to learn "the latest techniques in improved labor utilization" and "better labor relations," while the children's parents were taking advantage of the adult education program offered by the Agricultural Extension Service through its home advisers.

Closely allied were the recommendations having to do with mental hygiene, the chief concern here being "the need for security within an established community." High school districts, as the most practical units, were asked to organize recreation programs. Church, civic, welfare, farm, and women's groups were asked to interpret to the community the migrant's need of "belonging." It was pointed out that "a significant number of people entering the area as migrants have already become permanent residents," that others would settle down if made to feel welcome, that rejection on the part of the community is socially undesirable.

With regard to physical health, it was recommended that Governor Warren make available to all agricultural workers a "planned and organized system of medical care," on a statewide basis. On the local level, the counties were requested to decentralize their health facilities through the use of mobile clinics, and "since disease recognizes no geographical boundaries," to provide health services to migrants on the same basis as to permanent residents.

As its final recommendation, the committee proposed the establishment of a permanent California Agricultural Labor Resources Board, to carry on its unfinished work of research and planning. Pointing to already existing boards of this type in New York and New Jersey, it suggested that California study their programs and adapt them to its own special needs.

All in all, a noteworthy report with hopeful implications for the future — provided it is not mere filed and forgotten. Californians are calling the committee that fostered it the "big growers committee." The industrialized farmers have put themselves on the spot. Do they really mean to offer the laborers in their field factories "a decent American standard of living"? People all over the country, many of them long familiar with the problems of the dispossessed, are waiting to see.

Youth Behind Reformatory Walls

A STORM OF CONTROVERSY OVER THE treatment of New York State's youthful offenders arose last month as the result of a report "Youth Within Walls," by Bertram M. Beck, released by the Community Service Society of New York. Based on a study conducted jointly by the Society's Bureau of Public Affairs and its Youth Bureau Committee's subcommittee on delinquency, the report contrasts New York's correctional facilities for youthful offenders unfavorably with those of California and New Jersey. It points out that while New York has made "several notable advances in the treatment of the older adolescent offender" in the past ten years, it has not gone as far as a number of other states in incorporating the policies of the model Youth Correction Authority Act drafted by the American Law Institute a decade ago. (See "Youth Justice," by Curtis Bok, *Survey Graphic,* June 1940.)

Pulling no punches, "Youth Within Walls" implies that much of New York's lag in the correctional field can be laid to the custodial-mindedness of the leadership in its Department of Correction which relegates rehabilitation to a position secondary to security. Describing in some detail the programs of the Reception Center for Youthful Offenders, and the maximum and medium security reformatories at Elmira and West Coxsackie, it admits they rank "among the best of the congregate security type," but suggests that their influence as rehabilitative forces is hampered by a "peno-correctional philosophy which is in transition between a goal of punishment and one of treatment." Modern terms, such as "treatment," "diagnosis," and "casework," borrowed from various professions, are in use without the knowledge or qualified personnel they demand, it points out, and thus "have become cloaks rather than descriptive labels." Well intentioned rehabilitative projects, the report maintains, are bogged down by the bigness of the institutions, which makes it necessary to underscore security measures; by low salaries and lack of promotional opportunities of supervisory and professional employes; and by an accent on custodial experience in civil service requirements.

To remedy these shortcomings the report recommends a program for gradual adoption over the coming years. This has as its first essential the creation of a Youth Division within the State Department of Correction to have jurisdiction over all state correctional institutions concerned with male offenders from the ages of 16 to 21. To the present institutions it would add eight work camps similar to the California forestry camps, a psychiatric treatment center, and a medical unit for men with chronic disabilities, and

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would refocus the programs of the present institutions. Elmira would be kept as a security institution to house the "difficult" boys, but its population would be reduced from the present 1300 to 600, to make possible more diversified treatment, while its present educational emphasis would give way to a more intensified guidance service, and new industries would be introduced to provide more opportunities for production. Coxsackie housing about 480 boys, in contrast to its present 800, would have a distinct educational focus, and would be used for youths needing additional education in a controlled environment.

The Reception Center, which would have complete freedom for making transfers based strictly on the needs of the youth, would have added to its staff more psychologists and social workers who would have chief responsibility of placing the findings of all the specialists "within the framework of a total understanding of the human being." These would be used as a basis not only for assignment and the individualized guidance service to be carried out in the institutions but also for research on the causes of crime.

The cost of these innovations, the report suggests, could be saved from the high construction costs that a security centered program inevitably involves.

Shortly after the release of the report officials of the Elmira Reformatory and Elmira Reception Center publicly objected to many of its proposals. Their criticisms centered on the establishment of "impractical" work camps and the "overemphasis" on psychiatry and psychology. Maintaining that the Department of Correction had adequate institutions to care for the people sentenced to them, Col. Leroy Weaver, superintendent of the reformatory, asserted that they were organized on experience and "not through theoretical and fantastic ideas promoted by inexperienced social workers who have failed through their hare-brained, coddling ideas."

On the other hand, Edward R. Cass, member of the New York State Commission of Correction, and director of the American Prison Association, told a *Survey* reporter that "while he did not see eye to eye with its author" the report was valid in reconsidering basic correctional policies. Said he: "The fact that the Youth Commission is now exercising its power under the law to make an examination of the laws and institutions dealing with youth, gives support to the sentiment that there is need for clarification and improvement."

Austin MacCormick, director of the Osborne Association also took a salutary view of the report for bringing correctional issues out in the open. "The people of New York," said he, "must face the fact that although we have established such notable institutions as Walkill Prison and the Elmira Reception Center and have improved our institutions for women, our feet have been in the past while other states, particularly California and New Jersey have been going forward."

The Survey Award—*Deadline Approaching*

This month offers our readers the final opportunity for participating in the choice of a recipient of the Survey Award for 1951, with February 28, set as the deadline for mailing in nominations. The Award, for "imaginative and constructive contribution to social work" will be presented in Atlantic City at a general session of the National Conference of Social Work on May 14, by Ollie Randall, chairman of this year's Survey Award committee. The winner will be chosen by vote of a fifteen-member committee from a list of all the nominees sent in by *Survey* readers and friends.

Each reader is entitled to submit as many nominations as he chooses, but each nomination should be accompanied by a descriptive paragraph of about 100 words containing information on the nominee's present interest and occupation as well as his social work background, and giving the reasons he or she is deemed eligible to be honored in the name of *The Survey*. It is not necessary that nominees be nationally known, merely that they have contributed significantly to social work, locally, regionally, nationally, or internationally.

The award has been offered by *The Survey* each year since 1948 in honor of one of its founders and first editor, Edward T. Devine.

Present Status Of UNICEF

ONE PIECE OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS inherited by the present Congress from its predecessor is the responsibility for providing the United States' 1950-51 contribution to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Set up by the Third UN General Assembly in 1946 to meet the needs of children and adolescents in countries which were victims of aggression, the Fund has recently extended its mass feeding and immunization programs to needy areas outside Europe. In doing so it has obligated all of its present resources, including the remainder of the $75,000,000 contribution made by the United States three years ago. Since its inception the Fund has fed over 6,000,000 children and has conducted a number of large scale tuberculosis immunization programs, mostly in Europe and the Near East.

Before the 81st Congress breathed its last at the end of December both the House and the Senate had considered proposals for UNICEF support on which they failed to take action. This failure probably can be laid more to confusion than penny-pinching, for, at the time the question of a contribution was up for consideration, the future of UNICEF was being hotly debated in various UN bodies, with the United States taking an aggressive but unpopular stand for change. The issue was not whether children's work should continue, but how it should proceed. The United States and seven other "contributing nations" were proposing a reconstitution of the agency into a permanent child welfare organization with long range concerns, working more closely with the UN Secretariat and the other specialized agencies, such as the World Health Organization and the Food and Agricultural Organization. The Asiatic and Latin American nations, however, were calling for a prolongation of the *status quo*, with a greater extension of the agency's programs to their parts of the world where "children have been in a state of emergency for centuries."

Arguing that the European emergency for which UNICEF had been set

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up had subsided and that no agency could hope to feed and protect all the needy children in the world, the United States has been making efforts since last spring to transform UNICEF to the kind of organization which could help governments get at the basic reasons for chronic need in many of the underdeveloped areas of the world. It tried its powers of persuasion first on the Social Commission (see *The Survey,* July 1950, page 336) and then on the Economic and Social Council, which adopted a resolution in line with the U. S. views last summer. This asked for more long range emphasis in programing, a change in name to United Nations International Children's Endowment Fund, an advisory committee containing representatives from WHO, FAO, and the ILO to which all projects would have to be submitted for approval, and inclusion of the agency's administrative expenses in the regular UN budget so that all the nations would have a part in its support.

The ECOSOC resolution, however, was set aside by the Fifth Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, Cultural) where, in spite of assurances to the contrary by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and other members of the U.S. delegation, the view that it would cut off UNICEF's power to help children in the event of catastrophe, prevailed. Though the resolution finally adopted by the Assembly directed UNICEF to make efforts to meet "the long range needs of children" in cooperation with UN's specialized agencies, and provided for a change in board membership to include member nations of the Social Commission, it left the agency for at least a period of three

years with essentially the same independence it has had from the beginning. The new board, which also contains a wider geographical representation than formerly, is meeting for the first time this month.

While the United States abstained from voting on the Assembly resolution, its spokesmen at the UN reaffirmed this government's belief in the need for an international child welfare program. At present, the executive branch of the State Department, in recommending a United States contribution under the existing authorization, has pointed out that while the United States position was defeated by the UN Assembly, UNICEF itself, in its planning and programing for the past year has been leaning administratively in the cooperative, long range direction the United States has espoused.

College Students and the Emergency

THE EFFECT OF THE EMERGENCY ON the present college generation was the chief subject of interest, anxiety, and discussion at the annual conference of the Association of American Colleges at Atlantic City last month. The Association represents 650 liberal arts colleges in all sections of the country.

Delegates to the meeting reported that college youths are enlisting "in droves," and estimates of the loss of enrollment by the end of the present academic year ranged as high as 80 percent of the male student body. The conference was sharply divided on the question of deferments, some holding that to "discriminate" between the "average" and the "gifted" would be unjust and detrimental to morale, others arguing that the future of the country will be jeopardized if potential leaders are not given the fullest opportunity to develop their talent.

Meanwhile, the Administration program has been submitted to the Senate Armed Services Committee by George C. Marshall, Secretary of Defense, and his assistant in charge of manpower personnel problems, Anna M. Rosenberg. In preparing their program, General Marshall and Mrs. Rosenberg had the assistance and advice of five leading college and university heads.

Under this plan, all men would be subject to the draft at the age of eighteen, and each would receive four months of basic military training, before being assigned for duty or for specialized training for the remainder of the two-year draft period. The plan calls for expansion of the ROTC program of college training for young officers and for the deferment by the President of 75,000 students a year for three years to complete their education and "keep the educational pipeline from drying up."

The three-year limitation on deferment is based on the belief that after the first class of inductees finish their service and resume their education, the colleges will be back on a stable basis. But in view of the fact that some 400,000 men a year enter college, the deferment of 75,000 seems unlikely to solve the campus problem.

The discussions at the meeting of the American Association of Colleges also revealed the anxiety of educators over what many hold to be the undue emphasis of the armed forces on "scientific and technical" education, and a tendency to minimize the importance of liberal education. On this point, the Marshall-Rosenberg program offers some encouragement to those who believe that modern education should be broader than a curriculum of science and technical skill, for the plan states: "Methods for selecting students to be deferred, and for deciding courses of study that would be important to the national interest should be left entirely in civilian hands under procedures to be drawn up by the President."

Developments at the New York School

A HISTORIC TIE IN THE SOCIAL WORK field is in the process of severance as the New York School of Social Work and the Community Service Society of New York complete the legal action necessary to their separation, announced late in December. The School, organized fifty-two years ago by the CSS as the first school of social work in the country, has been affiliated with Columbia University since 1940, but has continued to operate as a CSS division. Under the separation agreement, part of the Society's general funds will be added to the School's endowment to help it on its independent financial way.

On January 16, the School, *alma mater* of the late Florina Lasker, announced the receipt of two gifts totaling $41,000 from the Florina Lasker Fund. One, of $21,000, will further its recently inaugurated doctoral program by offering a $3,000 doctoral fellowship for the next seven years. Another of $20,000, will endow an annual series of three lectures by outstanding authorities on social work and provide for their publication. At a tea with the faculty when the announcement was made, Loula Lasker explained that Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, Albert Lasker, and herself, trustees of the Fund, had chosen the school as one of the beneficiaries in its distribution because of the value their sister, Florina, had placed on her training there as preparation for her social and civic activities.

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PERSONALITIES and PROJECTS

social welfare in terms of significant people

Two Successful UN Projects

As the International Refugee Organization goes into its fourth and final year, J. DONALD KINGSLEY, director general, anticipates the pleasure of laying this largest of UN's specialized agencies to rest with its resettlement job practically complete—or, as he says, "as finished as it could ever be with the world the kind of place it is." For while the IRO still has some 550,000 displaced persons in its registry, most of them in Western Europe, it already has enough "promissory notes" for resettlement opportunities to shrink their numbers to what he considers an "irreducible minimum" of 300,000 by October 1951 when the agency is slated for liquidation.

When that day comes, the IRO will have transported some 1,250,000 persons to new homes in eighty receiving countries. Those of its charges who still will be left without new homelands, according to Mr. Kingsley, will either be persons who do not want to leave Western Europe or who, because of their age or some other reason, cannot.

UN Photo

J. Donald Kingsley **Glen Leet**

The genial IRO director is obviously not the kind of man to be callous to the plight of 300,000 people. In a recent interview he expressed relief that the UN Assembly had provided for a High Commissioner on Refugees to be responsible for the protection of IRO left-overs and the thousands of other refugees in a bitterly unsettled world who have not been IRO charges.

The new High Commissioner will not only provide legal protection—similar to post World War I Nansen passports—to stateless persons, but see to it that IRO agreements with governments of former enemy countries, for the humane treatment of the remaining DP's are not disregarded. Convinced that the concern of voluntary agencies offers an added protection, Mr. Kingsley and his staff have been busy making arrangements with international service organizations for the care of special groups. The Lutherans have already opened a home for aged displaced persons in Bavaria.

"The problem of refugees will remain one of the most serious in the world as long as we have cold and warm wars," Mr. Kingsley told a *Survey* reporter. But resettlement is expensive, he explained, and the eighteen nations who have been footing the IRO bill to the tune of $155,000,000 a year took on this responsibility originally mainly for those who were displaced by World War II. They have since extended IRO protection to some postwar political refugees from Eastern Europe, but they are not prepared to assume this burden on a worldwide basis, at least in such an expensive manner.

It was mainly to gain time for making arrangements for the difficult to resettle that Mr. Kingsley added his effective voice to those who plead for an extension of the IRO liquidation date, until recently scheduled for March 1951. In the year and a half since he has been directing this vast job of transplanting humans, he has found himself almost continuously occupied with international negotiations—at first to persuade countries to open their doors at all to the displaced and latterly to induce them to take in the less welcome among them, such as the aged and the handicapped. Largely as a result of his own refusal to be stumped by the "impossible" he has witnesed in the last six months a reduction from 50,000 to 22,000 of those once regarded as permanently dependent and ineligible for resettlement. Thus 1,500 physically handicapped displaced persons are to be rehabilitated and put into jobs in the United States. France has already taken 980 infirm old people; Eire 200 old people and 50 handicapped children; Sweden 300 tuberculous and Norway a large number of blind. Switzerland may soon take 1,000 DP tuberculosis patients, cure them, and send them on to Canada for resettlement.

Ten years ago Mr. Kingsley was living "a happy life as a professor" at Antioch College in Ohio, with a number of serene academic years behind him. The war catapulted him from his ivory tower to public life, first as deputy executive director of the War Manpower Commission then as deputy director of the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. He later had a short stint in the White House as program coordinator for the President before becoming deputy federal security administrator, a position he left to take on his present international responsibilities. Living in Geneva, he and Mrs. Kingsley have recently taken two Czech children for adoption, who speak German and French but no English. An Italian maid and a Siamese cat complete their international household.

✦ ✦ ✦

In the midst of World War II, GLEN LEET, American social worker, asked for leave of absence from his job as administrator of public assistance for the state of Rhode Island to take a "temporary" UNRRA assignment. Today after six years in Greece, heading a welfare mission that was first

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sponsored by UNRRA, then the United Nations, he is back at UN headquarters making a report for the Technical Assistance Administration. In the interim, he became completely engrossed in the task of applying known social work techniques and finding new ones for helping people of devastated and underdeveloped countries pull themselves up by their bootstraps.

"It took a while to see that the only way of aiding any needy country is to serve as a catalyzer, bringing the assets of the country to bear on its particular problems," said Mr. Leet in a recent interview. "In Greece," he added, "the two great diseases are underdevelopment and unemployment. The country's main industry, agriculture, is hampered by the lack of roads and water supply. Many people are hungry because they work only about three months a year. But the chief resource of Greece is unused manpower." In such a situation, he explained, technical assistance is "not the provision of a tractor," but finding a way of encouraging men to build themselves the roads and to dig the ditches they need to expand their own agricultural opportunities.

The exciting story of how thousands of miles of roads and ditches have already been completed in Greece by men awakened to the possibilities of working themselves out of their dilemma, will, we hope, soon be told in these pages by Mr. Leet himself. This will be far from his first writing experience for *The Survey,* for from 1937-39, he served as its Washington correspondent, producing a number of major articles as well as the *Survey Midmonthly's* regular feature, "Here in Washington." In those days he was also busy getting out a Washington newsletter for social agencies, serving as Washington representative for the American Public Welfare Association and the American Foundation for the Blind, lecturing in social work at three Washington universities. He went to Rhode Island in September 1939.

Mr. Leet is a graduate of Syracuse University's famous course in public administration, who added training in social work at the University of Chicago, Boston College, and the American University to his formal education. His interest in social work was stimulated by his first job, in 1931, working with Frank Bane, then Commissioner of Welfare for Virginia. This was whetted by later experience in Chicago with the American Municipal Association, then chiefly involved in helping cities find ways of financing unemployment relief programs, and with the American Public Welfare Association. It was while he was with the APWA that he began taking social work courses.

In Greece, he had an opportunity to test the universality of what he learned. While he found "flexibility" to be the most important quality for successful international operation, he emerged from his six years as an international administrator with a firm respect for the creativeness of American social work education. But he was also impressed with the importance of intelligent discrimination in applying professional techniques. He learned to divide the methods and concepts taught at American schools of social work into three classifications: Those universally applicable to human problems and human relationships; those applicable only in the unique economy and social setting that is America; those sprung from historical accident and not particularly useful anywhere.

Mr. Leet believes that one of the main contributions of the United Nations' social welfare mission to Greece was to help the Greek government understand the inter-relatedness of social and economic policies. And he contends: "Unless you continuously examine economic policies in terms of social objectives, you get results that aren't good for either."

A native of Brockton, Massachusetts, this grave internationalist has the "grass roots" consciousness of a person reared in the atmosphere of the New England town meeting. His faith in the community, he says, was sustained by his experiences in Greece where he saw that "if you gave the people the chance to get together and decide what to do they came to about the same decisions as the experts."

✦ ✦ ✦

NEW EVIDENCE OF THE GROWING AWARENESS of the place of cultural understanding in social work is the presence of KATHERINE SPENCER, consulting anthropologist, on the faculty of the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University. Formerly with the laboratory of social relations of Harvard University, she went to the social work school last fall under the sponsorship of the Russell Sage Foundation as part of the Foundation's conscious effort to bring social scientists and social practitioners into closer relationship. Her responsibility in a year of experimental work, according to Donald Young, the Foundation's director, will be "to bring contributions from social anthropology into the practice of social work."

Her first job on her present assignment, Miss Spencer decided, had to be to find out what goes into the teaching of social work. Therefore, she spent a goodly amount of the past quarter at the school in auditing classes. Impressed by what she has seen and heard, she recently observed that "social work has gone much further than most social scientists realize." At the same time that social work folk have been getting more interested in social science, her own colleagues have become interested in combining psychological and anthropological approaches to the study of personality, she says.

Born in Reading, Massachusetts, a small town on the outskirts of Boston, Miss Spencer graduated from Vassar in 1935, and did graduate work in anthropology at the University of Chicago. Her field work was done among the Navajos in New Mexico, and with a group of farm families near Anchorage who were moved to Alaska in 1935 from Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota as a resettlement experiment.

During the war, Miss Spencer worked for a time for the American Red Cross in Alaska, and then joined an Office of War Information research group, headed by Dr. Alexander Leighton and Dr. Clyde Kluckhohn investigating Japanese morale from available information. For a year following the war, she taught sociology at Wellesley College, and worked as assistant to Dr. Kluckhohn on a Navajo project at Harvard.

At the New York School, Miss Spencer acts as project adviser to students working on research involving cultural study. One of her aims for the year is to help develop teaching materials and other "tools for more systematic analysis of socio-cultural factors involved in the teaching of social work." She has become an enthusiastic participant in the work of the Committee on Cultural Dynamics of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, a group which has for two years been sponsoring meetings of social scientists with faculty members from schools of social work.

Though she is the first anthropologist on the New York School's staff, she represents, in a sense, an expansion rather than an initiation of the school's use of cultural materials in training for social work—a practice carried on for a number of years through Mary E. Hurlbutt's pioneering courses in culture and social work.

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International Cooperation

CONRAD VAN HYNING

UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Prepared under the direction of George Woodbridge. Columbia University Press. 3 volumes: $15

THE LESSON OF HOW MUCH THE nations of the world need to learn about each other before the United Nations can become an effective instrument for the promotion of world peace is perhaps the most valuable contribution of the three-volume history of UNRRA.

The story of UNRRA as told in these volumes is an account of the first effort of the United Nations to work together. Fortunately, this effort was for a purpose to which all could subscribe —the vast undertaking of bringing practical relief to the peoples of all nations who had suffered in the Second World War and who lacked sufficient financial resources to purchase the supplies necessary to prevent epidemics, destitution, and famine.

The principle involved was simple enough: the nations able to give were to contribute to a common fund which was to be spent for those nations whose resources were gone, whose people were homeless and hungry, whose cities and villages had been devastated by enemy action. In this greatest of all relief efforts, some nations were both givers and receivers. But all of the forty-eight members were participants; all took part in the deliberations of the UNRRA Council; all provided the personnel who made up the administrative organization of UNRRA, a conglomeration of people who spoke in every tongue, whose backgrounds were as varied as the cultures of all countries of the world, and whose amalgamation into an effective working force represented a fantastically difficult task.

✦

—By the former deputy director of welfare for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, now director of the National Travelers Aid Association

The story of how this first magnificent concept of the United Nations was carried out; the period of preparation and organization; the fine, bold vision of its leaders as they undertook the most tremendous humanitarian task in history; the hard period of waiting behind the occupying armies as the war came closer and closer to its end; the difficulty of getting ships and transport to carry supplies and equipment to devastated areas; the bitter disillusionment that came with the political battles about the displaced persons (must they return to the country of their nationality, or did they have freedom of choice to go home or find a new home); the satisfaction that came with a great accomplishment in spite of almost insurmountable problems; then the disappointment of ending its task long before that task was completed — all this is a story of vital interest in today's world, well told by its narrators.

As the author points out, there are many who feel that the dissolution of UNRRA was a tragic mistake; that in this united effort for humanitarian purposes lay the greatest opportunity for the nations of the world to learn to work together, and that its termination at a time when its value as a tool for the welding of international understanding was proving effective, was a severe setback.

After UNRRA, relief programs were continued by some individual nations, with the age-old relationship of a donor who expected gratitude for his gifts — not as good a foundation for world understanding as the impersonal aid which came from a United Nations fund to which all who could might give, each according to his ability. After UNRRA, it is true, other international organizations were created to carry on various parts of its work: the International Refugee Organization to deal with the politically-charged problem of displaced persons, an organization whose member nations represented not East and West, but only West; the International Children's Emergency Fund to carry on UNRRA's work for the rehabilitation of children; the World Health Organization to carry on the health work; the Food and Agricultural Organization for the development of machinery for the allocation of foodstuffs in short supply. The membership of all these successor organizations was not, however, as inclusive as UNRRA, and being new, they had to learn through long and duplicating experience the same lessons that UNRRA had already learned by the time of its termination.

One can find, in this history of UNRRA, the same enigma of opposite concepts about the rights of individuals and of national governments which are the basis of the present world crisis, but within UNRRA there were other common interests, there were joint accomplishments of which all members were proud, and there were personal understandings of one person with another which made cooperation possible in spite of national differences.

Mr. Woodbridge and his staff have indulged in few philosophical comments. The story they tell is matter-of-fact, mildly critical, but at the same time explanatory of UNRRA's failures. It is specific in terms of UNRRA's accomplishments, figures and facts on supplies delivered, areas rehabilitated, displaced persons repatriated and resettled. It is

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descriptive of the program carried out in each "recipient" country and of the help received from "contributing" countries in dollars, supplies, and equipment. They tell chronologically the story of the legislative side; the organization and development of the UNRRA Council of forty-eight member nations; the work of its various committees—advisory, technical, and administrative; the financial plan—how monies from contributing countries were used and augmented by "local currency"; the machinery for carrying out the principle that UNRRA's program was "helping people to help themselves." There is also a breakdown into specific programs—relief supplies, rehabilitation supplies, industrial rehabilitation, welfare, health, repatriation, resettlement, and the corollaries to these broad headings.

The agreements negotiated with "military authorities," agreements with "recipient" countries, agreements with other international agencies, all are included and well documented. The work of foreign voluntary relief agencies and their relations to UNRRA—work which was even more diverse than that of UNRRA—is reported with equal faithfulness.

The chronicle would not be complete without some picture of the principal figures in UNRRA, those who gave it its character and provided its leadership. Mr. Woodbridge has dealt carefully with the work of Herbert H. Lehman, UNRRA's first director general, and with that of F. H. LaGuardia, who succeeded him. Mr. Lehman served through the trying two years and three months from January, 1944, to April, 1946, resigning only when the great demands made upon him had seriously endangered his health. During this period UNRRA was organized, staffed, and procurement gotten under way. Mr. Lehman went everywhere, careless of his personal health and comfort, steadying and strengthening this first international experiment with his faith, his sincerity, and his humility. During the directorship of the tempestuous LaGuardia, UNRRA's supply program reached its maximum as supplies and shipping became available. LaGuardia was no less devoted to the UNRRA idea than Lehman and resigned only when it became clear that UNRRA would not be continued. Other conscientious and able leaders followed during the liquidation period.

To those who knew about UNRRA only from newspaper and radio, this history will provide an authentic picture of an international effort which was much better than its press. In these volumes will be found the story of the relations between East and West in the last two years of the war when Russia and the United States were allies, and the story of the immediate postwar period when relief and rehabilitation were more pressing than differences of political philosophy.

To those who worked on the UNRRA staff, a diverse group of persons from fifty-four countries plus those who represented their governments as delegates to the Council or committees, these three volumes will represent an encyclopedic reference work in which they may find the answers to many of the questions which puzzled them while they worked for UNRRA. The volumes are carefully and clearly indexed and the documentation is impressive and extensive. This history presents philosophically and in detail, in a perspective made possible only by viewing the whole story, the answers to many of the whys and wherefores of policies and decisions.

Volume I tells the story of the organization of UNRRA, of its structure, its operating administration, the huge supply program, including the kinds and volume of supplies delivered to the "receiving" countries.

Volume II deals with operations in the field, the agreements with "receiving" countries, distribution policies, proceeds of sales of UNRRA goods within "receiving" countries, service of voluntary agencies, description of each of the country missions in Europe and in the Far East, and the displaced persons operations. In the latter part of the volume, there is an excellent summary of what UNRRA was and what it stood for.

Volume III is largely a reference book in which appear a "Who's Who in UNRRA," and copies of UNRRA documents, agreements, administrative orders, and statistics.

Other New Books

POLICY FOR THE WEST, by Barbara Ward. Norton. $3.75

BARBARA WARD WRITES LIKE A MILITANT angel. As might be expected from an editor of the *Economist,* she possesses a comprehensive and intimate knowledge of the economic problems that beset western civilization. This knowledge is illuminated by her sense of history, of the aspiration of mankind. Her book concerns the central problem that now occupies all responsible minds; it comes at a moment when fateful decisions are being made. It offers a cogent pattern for grand policy, in a spirit of courage and dedication. If in the next few weeks or months the hurricane of full war does not strike us again, "Policy for the West" should be immensely influential in substituting a sense of confidence and direction for the prevailing confusion and discouragement.

The basic assumption of the argument, well supported in the beginning, is that the effort to form a partnership with the Soviet Union for accommodation of conflicting ideologies was energetically and sincerely tried after World War II and failed, not because of mistakes on the part of the West—though there were such mistakes—but because of the refusal of the Communists to settle any question of importance except on terms that involved submission to their control. But to make this point is not the purpose of the book. It is merely the setting of what follows.

The next step was the policy of containment. Miss Ward accepts it, though she regards it as the least important of the tasks necessitated by the situation. Writing before the Chinese attack on the UN forces in Korea, she regards the military requirement of containment on the west and south of Russia's periphery as a strong mobile expeditionary force, backed by air and naval supremacy. But containment, of course, would suffer a disastrous failure if western Europe were not held, and she would be the last to favor an involvement in Asia which would increase the risk of that disaster.

The whole purpose of the essentially negative military program would be thwarted, she believes, if it were not fulfilled by an affirmative economic and social program. It must be carried out without too great a sacrifice of the advances which could demonstrate for as long as necessary that the West can offer a better way of life than the Communist bloc. This involves continuing improvement in Europe from the point at which the Marshall Plan stops, and extending as rapidly as possible throughout the rest of the world the benefits of Western

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technology. And it involves, above all, substituting for the economic collapse that the Communist leaders confidently expect in the United States and other highly developed industrial economies, steady gains in producing the means of a good life.

What would be the cost of a military establishment big enough to discourage Russian aggression, and a vigorous development of the regions affected by Point Four? In view of the great lead already possessed by the West in industrial capacity, Miss Ward estimates the cost at between 18 and 20 percent of the national incomes of the more highly industrialized states. At the beginning, that would necessitate regrettable civilian sacrifices, especially in Britain and Europe, but she believes it could be absorbed without damaging price inflation if policies known and approved are applied, and that within four or five years a continuance of the recent rate of advance in output per man-hour would compensate for the initial setback in civilian consumption. To reassure us that the task is not beyond our human capacities for cooperation and understanding—national and international—she points to the tremendous achievements, unprecedented in history, already represented by the Marshall plan and the European response to it. We should gain faith from what has been accomplished rather than lose it by shrinking from the tangle of difficulties ahead.

The book spells out with remarkable completeness many of the details in the program it recommends. It is not an empty exhortation to attempt the impossible, an unrealistic formula which disregards practical obstacles. By confronting the crisis boldly and intelligently, Barbara Ward robs the future of much of its terror. At the end there is an eloquent appeal for the faith to live out the aspirations of Western culture by substituting purpose and will for the deadening reliance on automatic "forces of the free market" which has threatened to sterilize economic and political thinking since the days of the Manchester School. We can direct our culture for humane ends without abandoning the characteristically Western belief in the worth and rights of the individual. If we do, the possibilities of civilization are limitless.

"The ideas and aspirations of Western man are still the most startling thing that has ever happened to the human race. Stalin's views of man and society are, by comparison, mortally static and archaic. In fact the world today presents the astonishing spectacle of Western man sleeping unaware on the powder keg of his own revolutionary philosophy and the Stalinists leaping up and down proclaiming as a new revolution a view of man and society which was old when the pyramids were built."

Bennington College GEORGE SOULE
Bennington, Vermont

COUNSELING THE HANDICAPPED IN THE REHABILITATION PROCESS, by Kenneth W. Hamilton. Ronald Press. $3.50

BASED UPON THE DEFINITION OF REhabilitation adopted by the National Council on Rehabilitation as the "restoration of the handicapped to the fullest physical, mental, social, vocational, and economic usefulness of which they are capable," this book proceeds to develop the thesis that this can be accomplished effectively only by individualized and coordinated services, a fact which is appreciated by experienced rehabilitation workers. The author's special contribution is in the clarity with which these total needs of the handicapped individual are expounded.

Considerable emphasis is placed upon the community or "grass roots" approach to the problem as opposed to dependence upon national direction of planning. This recognition that the basic job to be done depends upon local planning is sometimes lost by theorists in the field of rehabilitation.

Central to the theme of the book, although only one chapter is devoted to it, is the exposition of the role of the rehabilitation counselor, especially his skills and functions, which are summed up thus: "Fundamentally he must be capable of recognizing the total handicap which disability imposes and individualizing the necessary resources to ameliorate it." Professor Hamilton recognizes two professional groups whose skills border upon these skills—social casework and vocational counseling. It is his opinion that rehabilitation counseling is a specialized application of social casework, but not such as to give caseworkers the basic skills of the vocational counselor. It should rather call for a regular training program for the objective of rehabilitation counselor. Under the circumstances of the still developing field of rehabilitation, it should be interesting to see the direction the field takes in this regard, particularly in view of the emphasis now being given by the medical profession.

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THIS NEW VOLUME continues the general plan of previous issues, reporting the current status of organized activities in social work and related fields, emphasizing the important changes and developments of the past two years—with a special article on implications for social work of the defense emergency—and it includes selected bibliographies and directories with 549 national and international agencies in the field.

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discussions of the severely handicapped. One must also note the repeated emphasis given to employability and the provisions of the federal-state program, especially in view of the opinion of many that this program needs expansion and greater financial support. At times one feels that the role of the voluntary agency in the rehabilitation field has been minimized.

This is a book which those interested in the disabled cannot afford to miss.

JAMES F. GARRETT
Chief, Psycho-Social and Vocational Services, New York University-Bellevue Medical Center

WATCH FOR THE MORNING, by Thomas Sugrue. Harper. $3.50
ISRAEL WITHOUT TEARS, by Ruth Gruber. A. A. Wyn. $3

NOT SO LONG AGO, PALESTINE WAS familiar to few except world travelers and archeologists, missionaries, and Bible students, Zionists and anti-Zionists. Not so today. Palestine, known now to millions of Americans, recalls a brave saga: the victory of the Israelis as they battled drought and soil erosion, the British Foreign Office, and the Arab League. In these latter days, they fight again, contending with a threat of economic collapse hastened by the flood of more than a half million immigrant Jews from Europe, North Africa, Yemen, and Iraq. New light is shed on this once obscure corner of the earth by two new books, probably the best amid a spate of recent writing on Israel.

Thomas Sugrue, book critic and author of that remarkable confessional, "Stranger in the Earth," relates the struggles of the modern Maccabees. In "Watch for the Morning" (the title is from the 130th Psalm: "My soul waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning"). Sugrue tells the story of the underground resistance against British soldiers and Arab agents, of the "unauthorized" immigration during the years of the Mandate, of the fierce war against the invading Arab armies, and of the ultimate victory which still seems to the poorly armed Israelis to have been virtually a miracle.

There is, at times, almost a biblical cadence to Sugrue's narrative of Jewish pioneers, " . . . representing a push toward the future" and of Arab leaders, immersed in the past, "protecting the feudal position they had inherited from the Turks." As a Roman Catholic, Sugrue wanted "to discover whether the Jewish state was a historical accident, or, as is always possible with something created by the Jews, an event in the spiritual life of humanity." His answer to that query? Israel is "a candle in the night of time" and the Israelis' way of life is "an edge of light for guidance in the oncoming age of darkness." "Watch for the Morning" is not "just one more book about Zionism." It is unique, first of all, because Sugrue, crippled by arthritis, made the entire journey in a wheel chair; second, because this deeply devout and sensitive Christian spirit was able to read himself so completely into Jewry's past tragedies and into the life of Israel's pioneers today. Thomas Sugrue, by a unique act of empathy, seems to have taken upon himself the sins committed by all our Christian forebears who helped create the so-called "Jewish problem." Sugrue understands Israel's centuries of tears.

RUTH GRUBER HAS A DIFFERENT EMphasis: Israel *without* tears. In her lively book, Miss Gruber tells how, as correspondent for the *New York Herald Tribune,* she saw "Israel emerge so healthy, so robust, so full of vinegar and salt."

Here is the new Israel, not a melting pot, but the "world's newest pressure cooker." Here is their language—Pinglish, *i.e.,* the Palestine English of the older settlers; the pigeon Hebrew of the newcomers; *sleng,* the slang of Israeli GI's. Here are Haifa, the Sunrise City; Tel Aviv, bedlam, boomtown, and babel, all rolled into one; Jerusalem, Holy City of Peace; and Beersheba, Israel's Wild West town. Here are *kibbutznicks,* settlers on the communal

farms and molders of what may become an agricultural pattern for Asia. Here are music lovers cheering fellow Jews come to Israel to conduct or play for the Israeli Philharmonic: Jascha Heifetz, Yehudi Menuhin, Leonard Bernstein, Izlar Solomon, Serge Koussevitsky. Here are touching chapters in abundance: the migration of Jewish orphans from Dachau and Auschwitz to the haven of the Homeland; the escape of 48,000 dark-skinned Jews from the "earlier-than-Dark-Ages barbarism" of Yemen and their Magic Carpet flight via DC-4's ("on the wings of the eagle") to the Promised Land; a Druse wedding; the first faltering steps of the new born

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state; and, most moving of all, the homecoming of Theodore Herzl, that "crackpot Jewish nationalist" whose fantastic prediction that, a half century hence, Palestine would be a Jewish state was fulfilled almost to a day.

A helpful, thirty-page appendix of practical "advice to tourists" concludes the book; and twenty-nine photographs by Miss Gruber illuminate the text.

CARL HERMANN VOSS
Chairman, Executive Council
American Christian Palestine Committee

PERSPECTIVES ON A TROUBLED DECADE: Science, Philosophy and Religion, 1939-1949, edited by Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein, and R. M. MacIver. Harper. $5.50

TWENTIETH CENTURY UNLIMITED, edited by Bruce Bliven. Lippincott. $3.50

THE HUNDRED OR MORE SCHOLARS AND experts represented in these two volumes cover the whole range of contemporary Western civilization with every major aspect of modern culture considered in terms of present status and future development. Inevitably, many subjects, such as economics, politics, international relations, education, and the impact of science on society, are treated in both volumes. In these areas the points of congruence and incongruence are of particular interest. For instance, both Robert Nathan (in the Bliven volume) and Eli Ginzberg (in the symposium conducted by the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion, New York, 1950) agree essentially in the conviction that American economic reform must move in the direction of basic modifications of current capitalistic theory and practice—with business taking the main initiative and government lending impetus to the development of a more stable and socially responsible system of free enterprise. Nathan, however, commits himself fully to the principles of a Mixed Economy, while Ginzberg bids us return to the study of Adam Smith, with particular reference to Smith's stress on the moral basis of economics.

In each of these volumes there are a number of far-reaching, stimulating, and even brilliant appraisals which are deserving of further consideration than is possible in this space. Among these I should certainly single out from the Bryson collection, Rudolf Allers' discussion of group tensions and his recognition of the limitation of scientific method in the study of social problems; Harold Laswell's warning about the dangers to human progress inherent in a state of "perpetual crisis"; William Seifriz's plea for a new humanism based upon both religious and scientific concepts; and Paul Weiss' brilliant definition of rights and liberties. From Bliven's book, I cite particularly Edward Condon's summary of the major scientific advances of the past fifty years, and Howard McMurray's demand for the emergence of a mature sense of public responsibility in American political parties.

A comparison of the topics included in one volume and omitted from the other is significantly revealing. Bliven's book has chapters devoted to American art, music, and popular amusements, but save for a few passing and secondary references here and there ignores philosophy and religion. A good half of the Bryson-Finkelstein volume, on the other hand, deals directly with religious, ethical, and spiritual concepts in relation to the problems of personal and group living. The major emphasis in the latter book is on values, with repeated insistence by many scholars from various divergent disciplines upon the prime importance of value judgments in appraising the civilization of the present as well as of the future. In Bliven's book the nearest approach to a consideration of this basic issue is made by Clyde Kluckhohn in his chapter on "Mid-Century Manners and Morals" during the course of which he observes, with a strange inversion of logic, that though man obviously requires values and standards that go beyond the material and physical, there is no need to invoke religion.

In some respects the Bliven collection constitutes a more popular, practical, and concrete approach to the virtues and weaknesses of contemporary civilization. The Conference papers with a more limited and specialized appeal are for the most part more penetrating, profound, and incisive in their analyses of current trends and future probabilities. They are, I think, essentially the more vital and significant because they deal so largely with the most basic of all human problems—the goals and values which alone give meaning and purpose both to civilization and to the individual lives which compose it.

Finally, it should be noted that the general tone and spirit pervading both of these books as regards the future of Western civilization in the twentieth century is essentially optimistic. This is both refreshing and significant at a time when the prevailing mood in so many places is one of hopelessness and

(Continued on page 91)

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CASEWORKER. Opening for professionally trained caseworker in established multiple service family agency. One year experience in private family agency required. Expanding program. Professional supervision. Limited case load. Board of directors active in developing and maintaining high standards of casework and personnel practice. Recently revised statement of personnel policies available. Salary beginning $3,000 to $3,200, depending on training and experience. Annual increments based on evaluation. Write Rosemary Antin, Jewish Social Service, 78 State St., Albany 7, N. Y.

NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION is expanding to provide services in special units for military personnel and war production workers in the emergency. Qualified caseworkers, supervisors' vacancies as they occur in member agencies throughout the country. Qualifications include MSW and experience in casework agency with some administrative or supervisory responsibility. Write National Travelers Aid Association, 425 Fourth Avenue, New York 16.

CASEWORKER, woman, for integrated family and children's program (including children's institution) on edge of Pocono Mountain vacation area. Salary $2000 to $2720, according to qualifications. Write United Charities, 107 Madison Avenue, West Hazleton, Pa.

VACANCY IN PRIVATE AGENCY for professionally trained caseworker with some experience. Opportunity for professional development. Limited caseload. Psychiatric consultation. Write Richmond Children's Aid Society, Allison Building, Richmond 19, Virginia.

FIELD REPRESENTATIVES—Opening on the state staff of a state supervised, county administered public assistance program. Qualifications: one year of graduate training plus four years in last ten of employment in social work, one of which must have been in an administrative or supervisory capacity. Salary $305-$365. For details write Division of Public Assistance, 801 Harrison St., Topeka, Kansas.

CASEWORKER—Opening in private multiple service, child-placing agency. Good supervision. Salary according to training and experience. Member C. W. L. Write Newell W. Ackerson, Children's Service League, 730 E. Vine, Springfield, Ill.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY—Small multiple service agency. Requirements: Master's degree in social work, supervisory and administrative experience. Professionally qualified staff. Write Mrs. O. L. Livesay, 322 Buder Building, St. Louis 1, Mo.

SUPERVISOR—Opening in public child welfare agency in Ohio. Member Child Welfare League. Starting salary $3600 to $4000, depending upon training and experience. 9152 Survey.

HOUSEFATHER—MARRIED OR SINGLE to supervise a group of 30 senior boys in an institution in Ohio. Salary and maintenance. Box 9153 Survey.

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Challenging opportunity for person interested in living in one of the fastest growing cities in South. Metropolitan area of 140,000. Balanced business, governmental, and industrial community. Professional personnel in local agencies.

Position Open: SENIOR CASEWORKER. Professionally trained and experienced. State salary desired. Good personnel practices. Retirement plans. Agency Pre-Member Affiliate FSAA. Supervision. Psychiatric consultation. If interested write Executive Secretary, Family Service Association, 725 South State Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

NEW MEXICO DPW: Field Representative and Child Welfare Worker position openings. Write to Merit System Supervisor, Box 939, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER—Community Mental Hygiene Center—Atlantic seaboard city. Intake and treatment interviews, inter agency contacts. Masters degree and three (3) years experience in casework required. 9145 Survey.

ADOPTION WORKER—graduate training and experience—for private, state-wide child placing agency. Iowa Children's Home Society, 206 Savings & Loan Building, Des Moines 9, Iowa.

CASEWORKERS. Opening in multiple service agency for two caseworkers in Family Service Department. Classifications Caseworker I and II provide salary range $2,700-$4,500. Placement on scale dependent on experience. Write Marcel Kovarsky, Jewish Family and Children's Service, 15 Fernando Street, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

CASEWORKER in family casework agency—position available now. Graduate of accredited school of social work. Experience desirable but not necessary. Medium size agency with fair salary scale and good personnel practices. Write John W. Reid, Family Service Center, 440 South Burdick, Kalamazoo, Mich.

WANTED—Social workers to file their qualifications with the Medical Bureau; opportunities in all parts of America including foreign countries; all negotiations strictly confidential, Burneice Larson, Medical Bureau, Palmolive Building, Chicago.

CASEWORKERS, particularly those experienced in adoption service and family casework will find real opportunity in recently reorganized multiple service program; good supervision, student training program, psychiatric consultation. Reasonable case loads and good personnel practices. Salary in accord with experience. Family and Children's Service, 410 Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.

CHILD WELFARE WORKER with professional training for opening in county department. Beginning salary $2,640. Apply giving qualifications to Director, County Welfare Department, 27 E. Vermijo, Colorado Springs, Colo.

WANTED: Social Welfare Representative (Male) for work involving community organization and prevention of juvenile delinquency. College degree. Salary $3384-$3924. Write City Civil Service, Civic Center, San Diego, California.

NEEDED IMMEDIATELY—Two professionally trained and experienced persons for 1. Staff supervision and some administrative duties. 2. Caseworker for adoption program. Salaries commensurate with experience. Apply Director, Vermont Catholic Charities, 311 North Ave., Burlington, Vt.

WORKERS WANTED

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DISTRICT SECRETARY. Graduate of accredited School of Social Work. Experience in Family Agency.
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SUPERVISOR. Opening in multiple service agency with fully trained staff and expanding program. Member FSAA and Child Welfare League. Salary commensurate with training and experience. Write Marcel Kovarsky, Jewish Family and Children's Service, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

TRAINED CASEWORKER NEEDED. Experience unnecessary. Travelers Aid Society, Union Station, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FOR CASEWORKER: Vacancy in a progressive Jewish family agency. Graduate of an accredited school of social work. Experience in a family agency and ability to speak Yiddish or German preferred. Salary $3,300 minimum to $4,500 maximum with yearly increments. Regular salary allowance for each year of experience. Write fully concerning qualifications to Jewish Family Service, 18 South Stockton Street, Trenton, New Jersey.

CASEWORKER: For child placement agency. Graduate of accredited school—experience preferably in adoption. Salary range, $2950-$3950. Jacksonville or Miami office.—Helen D. Cole, State Director of Casework, Children's Home Society of Florida, 1649 Osceola St., Jacksonville 4, Florida.

WANTED—Senior social worker, Iowa State Mental Hospital. Starting salary $200-$275 per mo. according to qualifications, maintenance included. Supervision by member A.A. P.S.W. Address Supt. State Hospital, Clarinda, Iowa.

CASEWORKER with graduate training experienced in family and children's work for employment with a family agency. Beginning salary $275 per month. 9157 Survey.

PROGRAM DIRECTOR, large settlement Indiana. Excellent facilities. Summer camp. Close association school of social work. Splendid opportunity in challenging situation. MSW group work specialization essential. Beginning salary $3600 plus apartment in residence. Write qualifications. 9134 Survey.

HELP WANTED: Couple, 30-40 yrs. of age, no children, as Housemother and Group Worker in children's Protestant institution in middle west. Woman to supervise group of ten boys, 6 to 10 years old, man to supervise group work with children up to 18 years old. Man should have Master's in group work; woman, college background. Suite furnished with full maintenance. Liberal personnel practices. Give full particulars first letter. Box 9159 Survey.

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(Continued on next page)

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INFORMATION SPECIALIST: Extensive experience in public welfare, housing, juvenile delinquency, probation and parole, plus ten years as a research editor for information service of leading encyclopedia. Capable writer. Able to set up and operate public information dept. University of Wisconsin graduate. Veteran. 9132 Survey.

CASEWORKER—Desires work with children, agency, institution or hospital, preferably Manhattan. Recent graduate, 3½ years casework experience prior to graduation. 9158 Survey.

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(Continued from page 89)

despair. One comes away with a strengthened conviction that with a rediscovery of basic spiritual and social values and with the application of good will and intelligence to the amazing fund of knowledge it has thus far accumulated, mankind might still reach undreamed-of heights of creative fulfillment even in the present century.

HOWARD W. HINTZ
Associate Professor and Co-Chairman of American Studies, Brooklyn College

SAINTS, SINNERS AND PSYCHIATRY, by Camilla M. Anderson, M.D. Lippincott. $2.95

DR. ANDERSON PRESENTS HER FORMULation of personality structure and human behavior in a clear readable form. The presentation might be a little puzzling for the lay reader because the writer's basic assumptions presuppose a willingness to accept Dr. Anderson's psychiatric theories. On the other hand, the material is oversimplified for practitioners— psychiatrists, psychologists, or social workers.

The author's basic postulate is that the organization of personality is motivated principally by the individual's desire to avoid anxiety-producing situations. This is a generalization which she feels has universal applicability. She describes and illustrates with case material instances of physical illness, rage, withdrawal, and so forth, which she presents as outward manifestations of basic anxiety. This rather unilateral concept of motivation is further elaborated in the description of the development of personality and its accompanying symptomatic behavior. Throughout the book the emphasis is on charting, what Dr. Anderson calls "structuralizing" of the personality in terms of the function served by behavior for the particular emotional economy of the individual.

In describing the treatment of patients with a variety of life histories presenting problems and symptom pictures, Dr. Anderson describes her method of using the psychiatrist-patient relationship as the medium through which the patient is helped to understand the interdependence of his structuralized traits and their accompanying functions. The aim is to give the patient insight into the nature of his anxiety as the first step in eliminating it as the lodestone of behavior.

All of the material, including the case histories, is simply and clearly presented.

(Continued on page 93)

Classified Cues

SPECIAL ARTICLES, THESES, SPEECHES, PAPERS. Research, revision, bibliographies, etc. Over twenty years' experience serving busy professional persons. Prompt service extended. AUTHORS RESEARCH BUREAU, 137 Cottage St., Jersey City 6, N. J.

SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY WRITER offers free-lance service in preparing press, magazine, radio, pamphlet, speech material. Rates supplied on request. Box No. 9156.

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FACTS and SUPERSTITIONS about mental illness in booklet published by Resurgo Associates, an organization of former patients. Only 50c postpaid. Resurgo Associates, 1341 Erie, Chicago 22.

SEND FOR FREE CATALOGUE. Books on Social Work, Gerontology, and Mental Hygiene. Greely Square Book Store, Box 18, Tremont Station, New York 57.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NURSING shows the part which professional nurses take in the betterment of the world. Put it in your library. $4.00 a year. 1790 Broadway at 58th St., New York 19, N. Y.

PROTECTIVE STERILIZATION. Free literature describing the absence of undesired effects and the protection surgical sterilization gives to this generation of the insane and the feebleminded and their potential children. Human Betterment League of North Carolina, Box 3036, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION ON MENTAL DEFICIENCY, INC. A National Association devoted to the care, education, training, community placement and supervision of retarded and mentally defective children and adults. Membership $6.00 per year. Publishers of American Journal of Mental Deficiency, quarterly, $7.00 per year; and A.A.M.D. News, $1.50 per year; annual Directory of members, including list of public and private institutions for retarded, $3 per copy. Applications, subscriptions and orders to P. O. Box 96, Willimantic, Connecticut.

AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND, INC.—15 West 16th Street, New York. A national organization conducting research and field service. Library. Mechanical appliances for the blind. William Ziegler, Jr., President; M. Robert Barnett, Executive Director.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Inc. (Quakers) (1917); 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, 7; Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary; Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Secretary. Activities: The Committee represents the Society of Friends in relief and social welfare services on a nonsectarian basis and without discrimination of race or nationality. Present activities include the following: relief and rehabilitation projects in Austria, China, France, Germany, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Pakistan; refugee aid in the United States and abroad; race relations, including a job opportunities program and a visiting lectureship; economic relations, including an industrial relations seminar and youth projects of interneships in industry and cooperatives; international relations, including institutes of international relations for high school age and adults in communities on the United States and seminars for foreign and American students in the United States, Europe and Asia; self-help housing projects in cities and rural areas; and youth projects for young people, in addition to the interneships, institutes, and seminars mentioned above, including work camps in the United States, Mexico and Europe, and Institutional Service Units in state mental and correctional institutions.

AMERICAN HEARING SOCIETY—817 14th St., N.W., Fifth Floor, Washington 5, D. C. A national organization devoted to prevention of deafness, conservation of hearing and rehabilitation of the hard of hearing. Monthly publication, HEARING NEWS, $3.00 a year. Literature for sale. Information given concerning problems of the hard of hearing. Field Services. C. Stewart Nash, M.D., President; Harry P. Wareham, Executive Vice President.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF FAMILY RELATIONS (inc. 1930), directed by Paul Popenoe. Public education, personal service, research. Write for list of publications, 5287 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 27, Calif.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS. Administered through national headquarters in Washington, D. C., and four area offices in Alexandria, Va., Atlanta, Ga., St. Louis, Mo., San Francisco, Calif. There are 3,738 local chapters, organized mostly on a county basis. Services of the Red Cross are: Services to the Armed Forces and Veterans (including Home Service); the National Blood Program; International Activities; Disaster Services; Nursing Services; Food and Nutrition Service; First Aid, Accident Prevention, and Water Safety; Volunteer Services; Junior Red Cross; and College Activities.

ASSOCIATION FOR FAMILY LIVING, THE. Resource in child guidance, marriage, and family relations. Speakers, counseling, library and materials in youth and parent education. 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

ASSOCIATION FOR PSYCHIATRIC TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS: Research-Therapy Forum. Dr. Melitta Schmideberg, Chairman. 20 East 84th Street, New York City. Non-profit. Free or low-fee treatment. Psychiatric treatment of adult and juvenile offenders. Monthly forum meetings. Workshop meetings in social treatment of offenders for social workers. Information, call Jack Sokol—Wadsworth 6-2551.

BIG BROTHERS OF AMERICA, INC. (United States and Canada). Founded in the interest of prevention and correction of juvenile delinquency. An international association of Big Brother agencies using volunteer laymen under supervision of professional social workers in guiding boys. Its membership is open to Catholic, Jewish, Protestant and non-sectarian Big Brother Organizations. President, Charles G. Berwind. Headquarters, Broad Street Station Building, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, 2 Park Ave., New York 16, N. Y. Incorporated 1910 and chartered by Congress in 1916 to develop character in boys and train them in citizenship. Programs: Cub Scouting—8, 9 and 10; Boy Scouting—11, 12 and 13; Exploring—14 and upward, available locally through sponsorship by schools, churches, fraternal orders, civic groups, etc. Amory Houghton, Pres., Dr. Arthur A. Schuck, Chief Scout Executive.

BOYS' ATHLETIC LEAGUE, INC., 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, Algonquin 4-1753. Arranges invitation tournaments in indoor and outdoor sports for Boys' Clubs, Social Settlements, Community Centers, Church Houses, Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. M. H. A.'s, etc., throughout Greater New York. Gustavus T. Kirby, Honorary President; Jacob Eichel, President; Arthur Price, Treasurer; Willard L. Kauth, Director. Sponsors: The Benjamin Harrison Recreation Center, 657 Tenth Avenue; Theodore Roosevelt Recreation Center, 2077 Second Ave.; Tot-Lot Playground, 422 West 49 Street; Tot-Lot, 110 East 110 Street; Camp Sebago, Camp Wakonda and Camp Orenda in the Palisade-Interstate Park; Co-Sponsors: Lincoln Recreation Center, 240 West 113 Street; School Settlement, 120 Jackson Street, Brooklyn.

CAMP FIRE GIRLS, INC., 16 East 48 Street, New York 17, N. Y. Mrs. Richard W. Blalock, President; Miss Martha F. Allen, National Director. Founded in 1910, by a group of progressive educators, "to perpetuate the spiritual ideals of the home and to stimulate and aid in the formation of habits making for health and character." It provides health and character-building activities for girls 7 to 18 and stresses home and related crafts.

CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA—24 West 40 Street, New York 18. A league of children's agencies and institutions to secure improved standards and methods in their various fields of work. It also cooperates with other children's agencies, cities, states, churches, fraternal orders and other civic groups to work out worthwhile results in phase of child welfare in which they are interested.

COMMUNITY CHESTS AND COUNCILS OF AMERICA INCORPORATED, 155 East 44th Street, New York 17. Information and consultation about cooperative planning and financing of social work through chests and councils of social agencies.

GIRL SCOUTS OF THE U.S.A., 155 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y. President: Mrs. C. Vaughan Ferguson. Founded in 1912 to help girls between the ages of 7 and 17 prepare, with volunteer adult leadership, for their responsibilities in the home and as active citizens in the community and in the world. Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. offer activities in eleven program fields covering international friendship, outdoor life, homemaking, the arts, and future vocations.

HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL OF NORTH AMERICA—297 Fourth Ave., New York City. The inter-denominational home mission body of 23 denominations. Executive Secretaries, Edith E. Lowry, Rev. I. George Nace; Migrant Supervisors: Western, Mrs. F. E. Shotwell, 3330 West Adams Blvd., Los Angeles 18, Calif.; Midwestern, Rev. Ellis Marshburn, 127 North Dearborn St., Chicago 2, Ill.

THE INTERNATIONAL CITY MANAGERS' ASS'N., 1313 E. 60 Street, Chicago 37, Ill. To aid in improving municipal administration (1) the Municipal Year Book, (2) Public Management, monthly journal on local government, (3) Management Information Service for Cities on fee basis, (4) Eight correspondence courses in municipal management. Write for more details.

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY—Promotes a better understanding of problems of democracy in industry through its pamphlets, research and lecture services and organization of college and city groups. Executive Director, Harry W. Laidler, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF, 121 West Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Ill. Byron B. Burnes, President; Robert M. Greenmun, Secretary-Treasurer, 713 North Madison Street, Rome, New York. Organized 1880, Incorporated 1900. Objects: Educational, Social, Industrial Welfare of the Deaf, Quadrennial National Conventions. Official Organ, The Silent Worker, 982 Cragmont Avenue, Berkeley 8, California; $3.50 year. Lists achievements of deaf in Industry, Education, Sports, and Religion. Section for Parents of Deaf Children.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLISM, INC., 2 East 103rd Street, New York 29, N. Y. A non-profit organization established in 1944, to aid in the education of the public in matters pertaining to alcoholism. It does not take sides in the Wet-Dry controversy. It provides speakers to interested groups and distributes factual unbiased literature. It organizes citizen's committees in communities throughout the country, and sponsors and guides these local committees in programs of education and action in their communities, designed to meet this great medical and social problem. Through these local affiliates it promotes and establishes facilities for the rehabilitation of the alcoholic. It promotes prevention of alcoholism through education and rehabilitation.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, 1819 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y. Mrs. Irving M. Engel, President. FIFTY-SIX YEARS SERVICE TO FAITH AND HUMANITY through:—SOCIAL WELFARE—Mental hygiene program; Council houses and clubs, nurseries; clinics; camps, work with the aged and handicapped; scholarships. OVERSEAS SERVICES—Operation of a home for unattached girls and young women in Paris; scholarship grants at American Universities for study in social welfare, public health, nutrition, nursing, occupational therapy to qualified young women from abroad who return to work in their own countries. EDUCATION AND SOCIAL ACTION—Contemporary Jewish Affairs, international relations and peace, social legislation. Study groups under National direction keep Jewish women throughout country alert to vital current issues. Through local Sections, SERVICE TO FOREIGN BORN—Immigration aid, port and dock work, naturalization aid, Americanization classes, location of relatives. SUPPORT OF SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, HEBREW UNIVERSITY, JERUSALEM. 234 Senior Sections in United States—also Junior and Councilette groups. 85,000 Senior members.

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(Continued on next page)

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DIRECTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, 22 West Gay St., Columbus 15, Ohio; Ewan Clague, President. The Conference is an organization to discuss the principle of humanitarian effort and to increase the efficiency of social service agencies. Each year it holds an annual meeting, publishes in permanent form the proceedings of the meeting and issues a quarterly Bulletin. Proceedings are sent free of charge to all members upon payment of a membership fee of $7.50. 78th Annual Meeting, 1951, Atlantic City, N. J.

THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS, INC., 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y. A non-profit organization pledged to lead, direct and unify the fight against infantile paralysis and supported by the March of Dimes. Through more than 2,800 Chapters serving every county of the nation, it helps pay for the best available care and treatment for polio patients whose families cannot pay full costs unaided, regardless of age, race, creed or color, and assists in staffing and equipping local polio centers. It supports scientific investigation into the cause, prevention, cure and treatment of infantile paralysis and finances the professional training of scientific and medical personnel. It maintains a year-round program of public information and education about the disease.

NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE, 1025 Vermont Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. A citizens' organization, working to help secure a better housed America, promoting slum clearance, public low-rent housing, urban redevelopment, and housing for families of middle income. Acts as coordinating agency for housing information to labor, veterans', religious, social welfare, educational, minority and public interest organizations. Monthly newsletter, special reports and studies throughout the year, and Annual Meeting. Lee F. Johnson, Executive Vice President.

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION—315 Fourth Ave., New York City. To bring to everybody in America, young or old, an opportunity to find the best and most satisfying recreational use of leisure time through participation in music, drama, sports and games, arts and crafts, nature activities; and to help secure adequate playground, recreation centers, swimming pools, beaches, athletic fields and other recreational facilities.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN AND ADULTS, INC., 11 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois. Gerard M. Ungaro, President; Lawrence J. Linck, Executive Director. The Society through its 2000 state and local member units seeks to provide health, welfare, educational, recreational, vocational and employment services to all types of handicapped persons, adjusting its services to each community and the programs of other agencies. Maintains special cerebral palsy services; consultation by professional staff; loan library. Financed by annual sale of Easter Seals. Publishes "The Crippled Child," a magazine for parents of handicapped children, bimonthly, $2.00 a year.

NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION—1790 Broadway at 58th St., New York. Dr. James E. Perkins, managing director. Pamphlets of methods and programs for the prevention of tuberculosis. Publications sold and distributed through state associations in every state. American Review of Tuberculosis medical journal, $10.00 a year; and Monthly Bulletin, house organ, free.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, organized in 1910, with 57 local branches seeks to improve living and working conditions among Negroes. Conducts surveys and research as basis for its services. Specializes in securing full use of Negro manpower in public and private employment. Publishes special bulletins on interracial and community problems. Provides fellowships in Social Work. Solicits contributions and gifts. 1133 Broadway, New York 10. WAtkins 4-0505.

THE OSBORNE ASSOCIATION, INC., 114 East 30th Street, New York, N. Y. Telephone CAledonia 5-9720-9721. Activities:—Collects information about correctional institutions and works to improve correctional methods and standards. Aids released prisoners in their problems of readjustment by securing employment and giving such other assistance as they may require. Austin H. MacCormick, Exec. Dir.; Robt. R. Hannum, Dir. of Vocational Placement.

THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, Campbell B. Beard, Executive Secretary, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is the professional organization for counselors and others engaged and interested in vocational guidance and the publishers of OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Journal.

THE SALVATION ARMY, INC., National Headquarters, 120 West 14th St., New York City. An International organization, founded in London, 1865, established in the United States March 10, 1880. A religious and social welfare organization, operating institutions, corps and agencies for all ages, to meet a variety of human needs in most major cities. Commissioner Ernest I. Pugmire, National Commander.

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THE VOLUNTEERS OF AMERICA, 34 West 28th Street, New York 1, N. Y. A nationwide religion-social welfare organization founded in 1896 by Ballington Booth and Maud Ballington Booth to meet spiritual and varied physical needs of the unadjusted and disadvantaged of all nationalities and creeds thru institutions, posts and departments in most major American cities.

This DIRECTORY appears in THE SURVEY twelve times a year.

Rates are 40 cents a line (actual) per insertion. For information contact the Advertising Department.

(Continued from page 91)

However, the basic premise in relation to anxiety on which the whole presentation rests seems to overemphasize one aspect of pathology and treatment to the exclusion of even a simple consideration of the patient's ego strengths, instinctual drives, and the nature of the transference setup in treatment. It is obvious from the other material that Dr. Anderson does not stress these factors because of her desire to present her own formulation. VIRGINIA BELLSMITH
New York School of Social Work

THE WORLD IN CRISIS, by J. Salwyn Schapiro. McGraw-Hill. $5

PROF. J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO RETIRED two years ago after a long and influential career of teaching modern European history to many generations of City College students in New York. He has turned the leisure of retirement to very good use and thus put a large circle outside his former students in his debt. Last year he published "Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism," a scholarly analysis of the social forces in England and France from 1815 to 1870. Now he has followed this with an analysis of the political and social movements of the first part of the twentieth century.

This new book, directed to a broader audience and especially well adapted to the needs of adult education, combines a thorough knowledge of the material with a rare lucidity and warmth of presentation. The emphasis is, fortunately, less on a dry narrative of events than on an interpretative integration of the various worldwide forces which in the last fifty years have, so unexpectedly for the generation of 1900, changed so many institutions, frontiers, and attitudes. The fundamental outlook of the book is a wide and cautious liberalism, open to the new currents of the age, without nostalgia for the past, but conscious of the continuity of the essential values of the liberal Western tradition. The book will be found helpful by many readers in a "world in crisis." HANS KOHN
The College of the City of New York

HELPING BOYS IN TROUBLE—The Layman in Boy Guidance: by Melbourne S. Applegate. Association Press. $1.75

"HELPING BOYS IN TROUBLE" IS A book for laymen interested in offering personal service to boys in difficulty. It is a story of a well-informed and sensitive volunteer worker who has been active as a Big Brother for twenty-four years. He has evidently found much satisfaction in this avocation and has written his book as a way of sharing some of the understanding he has gained of this special kind of interpersonal relationship.

Although the greater portion of the book is in the nature of a guide and

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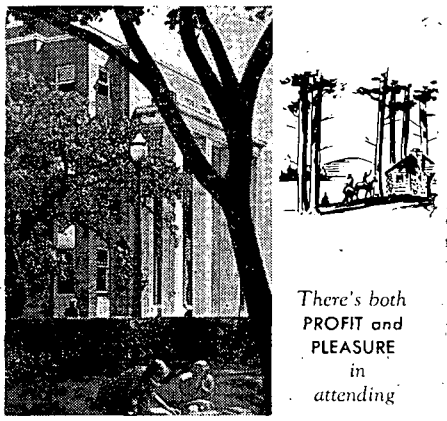

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Alexander F. Handel, *Dean*
School of Social Work
Adelphi College
Garden City, New York

offers specific suggestions for dealing with many phases of the helping relationship, the author repeatedly points out that the methods described have proved effective for him because he is comfortable in using them but that the same methods may not be equally effective with others.

The book should be read by volunteers engaged in Big Brother work or other personal service and by professional workers interested in understanding the contribution which the volunteer may make in the rehabilitation of socially maladjusted youngsters.

Executive Director HERSCHEL ALT
Jewish Board of Guardians

ESSAYS ON FEDERAL REORGANIZATION, by Herbert Emmerich. University of Alabama Press. $2.50

FIVE LECTURES DELIVERED BY THE DIRECTOR of the Public Administration Clearing House constitute a notable addition to the series of annual talks before the Southern Regional Training Program at the University of Alabama stimulated by Roscoe Martin. Paul Appleby's penetrating and fresh analysis of "Policy and Administration" was first put forth in the same forum, as well as distinguished and thoughtful papers by other leaders in the field, among them John M. Gaus and Luther H. Gulick.

There are few persons better qualified than Mr. Emmerich to comment authoritatively on the basic problems of federal organization and recurrent attempts to meet them. He was associated with the two major efforts in this generation, the Brownlow Committee of 1937 and the Hoover Commission of 1948, but not too closely to imperil his objectivity. He has himself been a bureau chief, as commissioner of the Federal Public Housing Authority, and at the center of a great coordinative control agency, as secretary of the War Production Board. He has a sense of history and a philosophic bent of mind.

He can accordingly trace from the beginning, in the time of Washington and Hamilton, the efforts to provide a strong executive. He can drive home, in his concluding discussion, the point that Americans must come to understand: that executive leadership and control must not be discredited merely because dictators whose views of man and the state we abhor also used these tools. Effective democracy requires them just as urgently. In his second lecture, he paints the forces within the government that militate against giving the President the powers necessary to carry out his responsibilities with the realism that comes from years of experience: the resistances of bureau chiefs and their ability to rally their clientele to protest diminution of their independence.

He explains the central significance of the report of the Brownlow Committee, which the Hoover Commission a decade later could only reinforce: that the President must have managerial aids in personnel, budgeting, and planning to enable him to exercise adequate controls over the multifarious activities of the federal establishment. He shows how both Brownlow and Hoover were entrapped by those who expected reorganization to spell big economy, meaning basically a return to a simpler and less embracing government.

Perhaps his single most important thesis is that reorganization is and must be a continuing process and that both the President and the Congress must be better armed to facilitate the constantly needed adjustments in structure. In a final talk on "Unfinished Business" he suggests the directions that next steps should take, notably to strengthen the planning machinery. I know of no more lucid and simple exposition of the important problems involved for the reader who is not a specialist but who would like to understand these important questions, what has been done about them, and what should be done about them.

CHARLES S. ASCHER
Brooklyn College

TOWARD FREEDOM FROM WANT, by D. Spencer Hatch. Oxford University Press. $2.50

WHEN MR. HATCH BEGAN HIS WORK in India a quarter of a century ago, his cooperative methods of helping impoverished farmers were unique. More recently they have become quite common among rural workers in various parts of the world. The Mexican government fostered such practical educational methods in its famous rural schools and the Office of Inter-American Affairs of the United States government is carrying them forward today in combination with other governments in Latin American republics. Mr. Hatch

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himself, when he could not return to India during the Second World War, did the same kind of work in a Mexican Indian village and is now training teachers for this same type of program in the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Turrialba, Costa Rica.

The fundamental principle of this work is cooperation with simple country people, winning their confidence by practical demonstrations of the way that crops, stock, bees, chickens, weaving, and so on, may be improved. Economic advances are all directly connected with the educational, social, and religious life of the underpriviledged communities.

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The contents of this book are reprinted in part from the same author's "Up From Poverty in Rural India" and "Further Upward in Rural India."

SAMUEL GUY INMAN
Author and Lecturer

PLANNING THE OLDER YEARS, edited by Wilma Donahue and Clark Tibbitts. University of Michigan Press. $2.50

THIS IS A COMPANION VOLUME TO "Living Through the Older Years," published in 1949. Like the earlier volume, it is based on the course for older people and for professional workers given annually at the Institute for Human Adjustment of the University of Michigan. The two editors, Wilma Donahue of the Institute for Human Adjustment, and Clark Tibbits, the director of the National Conference on Aging, are among the most dynamic and efficient workers in the field of gerontology.

With the rather rapid pace at which research and practical activities concerning old age are now developing and expanding, it is good to have this chronicle and survey, which might well be made a yearly publication. One of the most valuable achievements of the Institute has been the identification of seven problems to which older people have to adjust. These basic problems emerged from discussion with the participants themselves. They are: a need for health and comfort, for adequate living arrangements, for the continuation of creative activities, for companionship, for emotional security, for financial security, and for a renewed appreciation of spiritual values. The present book is arranged around three of these needs: living arrangements, recreational activities, and employment.

A number of outstanding collaborators, among them Nathan W. Shock, Ollie A. Randall, and Robert S. Havighurst, have contributed to the task of summarizing what has been done and, even more, of clarifying what has to be done. This volume expresses the happy and constructive spirit which is alive in Ann Arbor. It is a rich source of information and stimulation for everybody who is interested in the old age problem.

MARTIN GUMPERT, M.D.
New York City

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